DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 225 888 SO 014 450

AUTHOR	DiMaggio, Paul; And Others
TITLE	The American Arts Audience: Its Study and Its Character.
INSTITUTION	Center for the Study of Public Policy, Cambridge, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY	National Endowment for the Arts, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Nov 77
NOTE	237p.; Some pages may be marginally legible.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Arts Centers; *Audiences; Educational Background; Employment Level; Experimenter Characteristics; *Fine Arts; Income; *Participant Characteristics; Researchers; *Research Methodology; *Research Utilization; Sex; Social Science Research; Theater Arts; Use Studies; Visual Arts

ABSTRACT

Characteristics of the arts public, the quality and impact of arts audience research, and factors affecting research utilization are reported. Data were obtained from research literature searches and from over 600 questionnaire responses from museums, performing arts institutions, arts councils, and other organizations; directors of 86 recent audience studies; and interviews with directors and users of 25 audience studies. Findings concerning the nature of the arts public were that median educational attainment of arts audiences was very high. Also, professionals constituted 56 percent of employed persons in the average audience, median incomes were $19,000, and minorities were underrepresented. In regard to determinants of the quality of research methodology and its utility to managers, both level of funding and profession of investigator were related to high quality research. Experienced in-house researchers produced more useful research than outsiders or inexperienced in-house investigators. Pertaining to the impact of organizational factors on research usefulness, audience studies had powerful effects when their findings confirmed the theories of arts managers, when an influential person within the institution actively sought implementation, and when researchers were involved in staff deliberations. (KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED225888

50

November ~~September 27~~, 1977

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

THE AMERICAN ARTS AUDIENCE: ITS STUDY AND ITS CHARACTER

Paul DiMaggio Michael Useem Paula Brown

Center for the Study of Public Policy
123 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

SP 014 450

FILE COPY, PLEASE RETURN TO:
Research Division
National Endowment for the Arts
Washington, D.C. 20506

SUMMARY

The purpose of our research was twofold, to summarize available information on the composition of the American public for museums and the live performing arts and to assess the technical quality and the utility of studies of arts audiences. Information was gathered from three major sources. First, a collection of materials from 270 studies of museum visitors and performing-arts audiences was compiled from an intensive search of libraries, indexes, and bibliographies and from over 600 responses to an inquiry mailed to more than 1200 museums, performing-arts institutions, arts councils, and other organizations involved in the arts. Second, directors of 110 recent audience studies, reports of which were received by January 1, 1977, were mailed an extensive survey. The survey forms, returned by 86 study directors, obtained information on study-director background, characteristics of the organization conducting the study, information about the relationship between the conducting and subject organizations, research methodology, and managerial applications of research results. Finally, intensive interviews were conducted with directors and users of twenty-five audience studies, selected on the basis of recency, region, and representativeness of the range of institutions studied and type of research undertaken. These interviews yielded data on research applications, the purposes for which studies were undertaken, the manner in which research findings entered the decision-making process, and factors facilitating and impeding the use of research in management and policy making.

Chapter Two summarizes the findings of the full set of studies with

regard to the demographic composition of the audiences studied and several related issues. The studies from which findings were drawn included data on visitors to art, history, science, and other museums, and audiences for theater, classical music, opera, ballet, and dance. Institutions whose audiences were surveyed ranged widely in size, function, and location. Nonetheless, they by no means represent a stratified sample of American museums and live performing-arts organizations. In particular, audiences for ethnic music, jazz, and other popular art forms (as well as audiences for broadcast arts programs) are not included.

Because different studies asked different questions and used divergent schemes for categorizing responses, comparability was established for categorical variables (gender, educational attainment, occupation, and race) by tabulating percentages of respondents in those categories used in the greatest number of studies. For continuous variables (age and income), comparability was established by calculating median figures for each audience studied. Our findings about the composition of the audiences for which reports were available are as follows:

Gender. The percentage of men and women in the audiences surveyed varied, but did not differ greatly from the population at large. The median male percentage was 46 percent for museums and 43 percent for the performing arts (compared to 49 percent for the population as a whole). Among the different art forms, audiences for ballet and dance were the most heavily female (60 percent) and visitors to science and history museums were the most preponderantly male (53 percent).

Age. The median age for performing-arts audiences was thirty-five,

and for museums it was thirty-one. The median age for the United States' population as a whole is twenty-eight; for Americans aged sixteen or older, it is forty. Among the art forms, ballet and theater audiences were youngest and opera and symphony audiences oldest. Children were well represented among science- and history-museum visitors, but largely absent from other audiences.

Educational attainment. Educational attainment appears to be the individual characteristic most closely related to attendance at museums and live performing-arts events. Although audiences varied considerably, median educational attainment was in most cases very high relative to the population at large. The median percentage with graduate training was 30; with a four-year college degree, 54 percent (as opposed to 14 percent of American adults); with no schooling beyond high school, 22 percent (U.S. adults, 74 percent); and without a high-school diploma only 5 percent (compared to 38 percent of all adult Americans). Median education was higher for performing-arts audiences than for museum visitors, higher for ballet and dance than for theater, and higher for art museums than for science and history museums.

Occupation. Among the most striking findings were the high median percentages of professionals in the audiences surveyed relative to their share of the employed civilian work force and the rarity of blue-collar workers among attenders surveyed in art museums and the performing arts. Professionals constituted 56 percent of employed persons in the average audience but only 15 percent of the employed civilian work force. Visitors to science and history museums were less likely to have professional occupations than the attenders of art museums or any of the performing-arts categories. Blue-collar workers constituted 4 percent

of employed persons in the median audience, as opposed to 34 percent of the employed civilian work force. Blue-collar workers were found in museums other than art museums in substantially greater numbers than in audiences for the performing arts or among visitors to art museums. Students were present in all audience groups in disproportionately high numbers; managers participated in audiences in proportions greater than their share of the population; and clerical/sales workers, homemakers, and the retired and unemployed were slightly underrepresented relative to their share of the population.

Income. Median incomes were adjusted for inflation to constant mid-1976 dollars. The median income for performing-arts audiences was approximately $19,000, or about $4000 more than the United States' average. Median incomes ranged greatly from audience to audience, although almost all were above the national average. Median incomes were somewhat higher for opera, and lower for university and outdoor theatrical productions. Median incomes for museums were about $17,000, with visitor incomes for science and history museums considerably lower than for art museums.

Race and ethnicity. The paucity of information collected on race and ethnicity and the absence of studies of audiences for predominantly ethnic events makes generalization hazardous. Minorities participated in the relatively few audiences for which data were available at rates consistently lower than their share of relevant metropolitan populations. Relatively low representation in these audiences may have been due in large part to the fact that, compared to white Americans, minority-group members, on the average, are younger, have less education and lower incomes, and

are less likely to work in professional occupations.

An analysis of trends in audience composition failed to find significant changes over time. It is possible that change has occurred but was indiscernible because of the relatively few pre-1970 studies available and because of extensive variation among study procedures.

An analysis of frequent and infrequent attenders found that frequent attenders reported themselves to be more well educated and of higher income than less frequent attenders, but similar in gender and age. With the exception of intensive theater-goers, heavy attenders in one live performing-art form participate intensively in others as well. An examination of economic-impact studies indicated that, while definitive methodologies have not yet been developed, the amounts spent on incidentals by performing-arts attenders vary greatly but appear to have substantial aggregate effects. Finally, a review of attitude studies indicated widespread public support for the general principle of government aid to the arts, but with support for subventions to specific kinds of arts institutions varying considerably.

Chapter Three provides an analysis of the determinants of research methodological quality and utility to managers. Study reports and data from the questionnaires returned by study directors were used to rate the technical quality of each of eighty-six studies. Multiple-regression analysis was used to determine the effects on quality of relevant study characteristics (level of funding, investigator's profession, type of organization conducting the research, prior research experience, and whether the study was in-house or done by an outsider). When the impact of each factor was assessed with all others held constant, level of funding proved of greatest importance, with investigator profession also signi-

ficantly related to quality. In general, more expensive studies were of higher technical quality, as were those directed by social scientists, other professional researchers, and marketing specialists, as opposed to arts managers. Together these variables explained more than 63 percent of the total variation in quality among the studies assessed. Scales rating each study's utility were then developed from directors' reports. Analysis showed no relationship between the technical quality of studies and their usefulness to managers and policy makers. The only factor with any significant impact was an interaction between two variables: experienced in-house researchers produced more useful research than that by outsiders or by inexperienced in-house investigators. Nonetheless, in contrast to the 63 percent of the variation explained in technical quality, less than 10 percent of study utility was predictable from the variables assessed.

Chapter Four draws on forty-two interviews of users and directors of twenty-five audience studies to explain the impact of organizational factors on research usefulness and, in particular, to understand the surprising lack of relationship between technical quality and utility. In contrast to the conventional viewpoint on applied research, which suggests that institutions undertake research to obtain information needed to make specific managerial decisions, it was found that audience studies were undertaken for broadly political reasons, because an opportunity for relatively cost-free research presented itself, or because of diffuse and general concern about one or more areas of management. Also in contrast to the conventional viewpoint,

research was found to enter into decision making in ways that were marginal and indirect. Study findings were marginal in that they were used against a complex background of previously acquired knowledge and beliefs; decisions involved not only rational data-based calculations but also choices among competing values and priorities; and research was often relevant to marginal problems. The input of research was indirect and difficult for interviewees to assess precisely because study findings were less often used to solve problems than to catalyze action in a broad managerial area, to symbolize commitments to particular priorities or concerns, or to identify problems as they arose.

Nonetheless, audience studies were found to be highly useful to managers. For the twenty-five studies assessed, seventy-seven applications or outcomes were mentioned, of which two thirds were primarily instrumental and one third principally related to internal or external politics. The greatest number of applications (29 percent) were for physical planning, followed by internal politics (22 percent), marketing (20 percent), legitimizing research or defining research needs (12 percent), external politics (12 percent), and program or exhibit-content planning (6 percent).

In general, audience studies had powerful effects when their findings confirmed the suspicions of arts managers; when an influential person within the institution actively sought implementation; when the authority of outside researchers lent legitimacy to their findings; and when researchers were involved on a sustained basis in staff deliberations. Studies failed to make an impact when there was high staff turnover; when influential individuals were hostile or indifferent to the research; when organizations lacked the resources to use the findings; and when study reports were con-

fusing or perceived as trivial or inconclusive.

Little concern was evinced for research technical quality. While the lack of connection between technical quality and utility to some extent reflects a lack of training and experience in research methodology, the willingness of arts managers to use the findings of research that does not meet conventional technical standards is in large part a rational response to three aspects of the environment in which arts organizations function. First, most arts organizations have too little time, money, or experience to undertake or sponsor high-quality research; second, most arts organizations have virtually no systematic information about the composition, attitudes, or habits of their audiences, so that any increment in knowledge can be valuable; finally, lack of concern with technical quality reflects a recognition of the way in which research findings enter into the decision process--as marginal, indirect, reinforcing, suggestive, expressive, or symbolic inputs that depend little on the precise technical methods employed.

The report's concluding chapter provides a brief agenda for research, describing some of the gaps in our knowledge about arts audiences and suggesting approaches for filling them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our deepest thanks go to Jane Gallup, who served as this project's administrator, librarian, accountant, editor, secretary, and typist, all with equally great skill, good humor, and forbearance. Against not inconsiderable odds, she succeeded in maintaining order and organization in a singularly centripetal environment.

Thanks, also, to John Case, Nancy Lyons, Larry Baker, Lee Aitken, Barbara Beelar, and the other residents of the Center for the Study of Public Policy, who gave us a comfortable and friendly home and provided good advice and moral support on numerous occasions.

We are grateful to Harold Horowitz, Director of the Research Division of the the National Endowment for the Arts, who as project officer consistently provided sound and valuable advice when it was needed most.

We are also thankful to Joseph Farrell, Bradley Morison, and Joseph Zeigler, who went beyond the call of courtesy to make available to us both their research and their extensive experience in the study of arts audiences. We are indebted, as well, to Donald Newgren, who donated to us a large collection of museum visitor studies that he obtained during a study of museum research; and to Ms. Lorraine Brown of the Research Center for the Federal Theater Project at George Mason College for making copies of several Federal Theater Project surveys available to us.

The following people also provided valuable information and assistance at various stages of this project in numerous ways: Duncan Cameron; Irving Cheskin; James Copeland; Stephen Couch; David Cwi; Kevin R. Diels; Emily Farnham; Carol Ann Feldman; Arnold Foster; Janet Gracey; Rena Hall; Walt

Haney; Phil Hyde; Christopher Jencks; Samuel Kaplan; Jerome Karabel; Jeff Klopek; Robert Lakota; Richard Light; Margaret Parsons; Laurie Perman; Richard Peterson; E. Arthur Prieve; Richard Sheldon; Harris Shettel; Anne Smith; Mark Sumner; Mary Tassick; Ellen Thurston; Harrison White; Thomas Wolf; and Peter Zeisler.

Finally, we are enormously indebted to the hundreds of art managers and researchers who kindly gave of their time to complete questionnaires, unearth and send us study reports, and reflect on their experience in the world of arts research. Not only did their cooperation make it possible for this report to be written, but their keen interest in the findings and potential of audience research encouraged us to believe that it might even be read.

This research was sponsored by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. It should go without saying that the opinions expressed and interpretations offered are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of any of the individuals or organizations whose assistance has been acknowledged. Any errors or misinterpretations are ours alone.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY i

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS v

TABLE OF CONTENTS vii

LIST OF TABLES ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 2: THE NATURE OF THE ARTS PUBLIC 6
- The Studies
- Basic Demographics
  - Gender
  - Age
  - Education
  - Occupation
    - Professionals
    - Managerial
    - Professional/managerial
    - Clerical/sales
    - Blue-collar workers
    - Homemakers
    - Students
    - Retired and unemployed
    - Summary
  - Income
  - Race and Ethnicity
  - Summary
- Additional Issues in Audience Research
  - The Arts Audience Over Time
    - Gender
    - Age
    - Education
    - Occupation
    - Income
  - Audience Structure
  - Economic and Political Impact
    - Economic impact
    - Political impact

CHAPTER 3: QUALITY AND IMPACT OF ARTS AUDIENCE STUDIES 95
- The Arts Audience Survey
- Predicting Quality in Arts Audience Studies
- Factors Predicting Research Quality
- The Correlates of Quality
- Predicting the Utility of Arts Audience Studies

CHAPTER 4: ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING RESEARCH UTILIZATION 128

The Purposes of Audience Research
Political factors
Opportunity
General concerns
The Impact of Audience Studies
Instrumental applications
Political applications
The Role of Audience Research Findings in Arts Management
Factors Affecting Research Utilization
Facilitating factors
Study attributes
Personal commitment
External factors
Factors Preventing Utilization
Staff turnover and lack of resources
Hostility and disinterest
Research planning
Communication and follow-through
Report content
Study execution
Technical quality
Conclusion and Recommendations

CHAPTER 5: AN AGENDA FOR ARTS AUDIENCE RESEARCH 173

BIBLIOGRAPHY 181

STUDIES 187

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Percentage Men in Audience Studies, by Art Form	25
Table 2.2	Median Age of Audiences, by Art Form	31
Table 2.3	Percentage of Audiences in Five Educational Categories, by Art Form	39
Table 2.4	Occupational Distribution of Audiences	45
Table 2.5	Occupational Distribution of Audiences, by Art Form	48
Table 2.6	Median Income by Audiences, by Art Form	61
Table 2.7	Time Trends in the Gender, Age, Education, Occupation and Income Composition of Performing Arts Audiences	76
Table 3.1	Deviation from Average Audience-Study Quality by Investigator Background, Resources, and Institutional Setting	109
Table 3.2	Simple Correlations and Regression Coefficients of Audience Study Quality with Investigator Background, Resources and Institutional Setting	113
Table 3.3	Deviation from Average Audience Study Internal and External Utility by Investigator Background, Resources, Institutional Setting and Quality	122
Table 4.1	Frequency of Instrumental and Political Applications of Audience Research Results	137
Table 4.2	Frequency of Factors Cited as Affecting Utilization of Audience Research Results	149

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Writing in the 1860s, the American actress, author, and feminist Olive Logan revealed that, even then, speculation about the audience was among the theater world's favorite pastimes:

> To the general play-goer, it is presumed that the most interesting part of a theatre is behind the scenes. To actors and actresses, naturally enough, the chief interest lies with the audience—Before the Footlights.... I never tired of studying the many-headed animal—the Audience. I love to take it up in its different elements, and ponder it—looking out from a cozy corner in a stage-box, myself unobserved. [Logan, 1871]

But while artists have long been aware of their public's importance, the transformation of such curiosities as Ms. Logan's into questionnaires, research designs, and observation schedules is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Although research on the arts audience dates back to the museum visitor studies of Robinson and his colleagues in the 1920s (Robinson, 1930) and surveys of audiences for Federal Theater Project performances in the 1930s, research appears to have been undertaken on a grand scale only in the last decade or two. Beginning with the museum studies of de Borhegyi, Hanson and their colleagues (1968) and Abbey and Cameron (1959, 1960) in the 1950s and the performing-arts surveys of Baumol and Bowen (1966) in the 1960s, gathering information about audiences has experienced a resurgence in museums and performing-arts institutions to the point where such research has become, if by no means universal, at

least commonplace. Of more than 600 arts organizations responding to one recent survey (Johnson and Prieve, 1976), 23 percent had conducted audience surveys within the previous five years. Of 612 arts organizations responding to our own inquiry, 27 percent had undertaken such studies in recent memory, and many others were preparing to do so. The degree of interest in audiences was expressed to us most graphically in the generous cooperation we received throughout this project's course from overworked and questionnaire-weary individuals in theaters, museums, orchestras, and other arts institutions; and by the surprising number of arts managers who sought advice on specific aspects of audience-study design or execution.

The purpose of this report is twofold. First, we have gathered together research on the composition, attitudes, and preferences of arts audiences and have attempted to synthesize from the findings a comprehensive description of selected features of the American arts public. In doing so, we collected reports, questionnaires, and other materials from more than two-hundred and fifty research projects.

The second aim has been to assess the quality and utility of the audience research that arts organizations have performed and sponsored. Research on education, health care, and many other areas of public policy has been evaluated in the past. But this report represents the first research evaluation in this area, and one of the first to study explicitly both how well research has been carried out by social-scientific standards and how useful it has been to the organizations on whose behalf it was undertaken.[1]

We proceeded as follows.[2] First, an exhaustive library search was conducted for published audience studies and an inquiry form was mailed to over 1,200 museums, performing-arts organizations, art councils, and other organizations concerned with the arts. The form requested information on, and copies of, any audience research with which the recipient had been involved or was acquainted. This search eventually yielded materials on 270 studies.

Second, a longer survey form was sent to the directors of each of more than one hundred studies that we had obtained by January 1, 1977. The survey, based on a review of relevant methodological materials and on more than two dozen unstructured interviews with arts administrators and researchers, requested information on the study director and conducting organization, the research budget and funding, research methodology, and policy applications. Eighty-six directors responded within the allotted time of approximately three months.

Finally, structured interviews with forty-two directors and users of twenty-five audience studies were conducted in order to better understand the purposes of audience research and the reasons why some studies yield more useful findings than others. The research projects selected for case study represented a cross-section of art forms and study types.

Our findings are reported in three chapters. Chapter Two presents a synthesis of data on audience composition reported by the studies in our possession. Information on gender, age, educational attainment, occupation, income, and race of arts attenders is presented for various art forms. In addition, Chapter Two presents information on changes in audience composi-

tion over time, differences between frequent and infrequent attenders, and the findings of studies of the economic impact of the arts and public attitudes towards government financing of the arts. Chapter Three, based on the survey of study directors described above, reports the results of analysis of the determinants of the technical quality and the effects of quality on the policy utility of audience studies. And Chapter Four, based on the case-study interviews, describes the reasons that audience studies are undertaken, the uses that they serve, the ways in which they enter the decision-making process, and the factors that facilitate or hamper their use. A final chapter presents an agenda for further research. It should be noted that references are provided in two ways. References to audience studies are indicated in the text by the study number (e.g., #17) and reported in the list of studies beginning on page 187. Other references are cited by author and year of publication and are reported in the bibliography on page 181.

This report may be useful to arts managers and policy makers in several respects. First, in presenting a summary of the central findings of audience research to date, this report both presents a comprehensive overview of audience composition and makes clear the limits of the information now available.

Second, Chapters Three and Four compare the results of research carried out under varying circumstances and illuminate some of the reasons that research is widely regarded as less than satisfactory. While there is no easy recipe for ensuring that audience research can be both useful and of the highest quality, the material in these chapters indicates the complexity of the process that leads to good research and by which research results find their way into practice. These chapters also provide insights into those aspects of research management about which something can be done.[3]

1. For a brief but illuminating study of marketing research by symphony orchestras, see Wainwright (1973).

2. Methodological procedures are described in detail later.

3. This report presents no guidelines for conducting audience studies. For details on how to go about surveying an audience or set of visitors, see Baumol and Bowen (1966: Appendix IV-1); Cameron and Abbey (1960a, 1960b, 1961); Mann (1966); and Newgren (1972).

CHAPTER 2: THE NATURE OF THE ARTS PUBLIC

The nature of the public for the arts in the United States has been a source of controversy and speculation for much of this country's history. Alexis de Tocqueville, the liberal French aristocrat who studied American democracy during the 1830s, noted then that America's Puritan simplicity and unbounded resources provided more fertile soil for commerce than for art. Nonetheless, he suggested, as the frontier closed and the Puritan legacy was diluted, the natural tendencies of democracy might eventuate in unprecedented public involvement in the arts. "Not only will the number of those who can take an interest in the production of mind be greater," he wrote, "but the taste for intellectual enjoyment will descend, step by step, even to those who, in aristocratic societies, seem to have neither time nor ability to indulge in them" (Tocqueville, 1956: 162).

If Tocqueville predicted the democratization of both the production and appreciation of art as the United States became more mature, a half century later Thorstein Veblen, the iconoclastic economist, presented a more pessimistic view. Having witnessed the rise of great fortunes that Tocqueville had not forseen, Veblen feared that the arts (as well as most aspects of culture, learning, and manners) had become the playthings of the rich—baubles and badges of social standing less respected for their beauty or intrinsic merit than for their rarity and expense. High culture, thought Veblen, would remain the preserve of the wealthy because only they had the leisure to attend to it and the power to define what, in fact, would be considered 'art' (Veblen, 1899).

The opposing perspectives of Tocqueville and Veblen have been echoed in debates throughout this century. Most recently, some writers have discerned a cultural 'boom,' asserting that the arts, while previously the monopoly of an elite, have become central to the lives of millions of Americans. Alvin Toffler, perhaps the most optimistic spokesman for this position, cites the rise of a massive middle-class constituency for the arts. While, in earlier years, the arts audience was composed of the European-oriented rich, alienated intellectuals, and aspiring artists, more recently "millions of Americans have been attracted to the arts, changing the composition of the audience profoundly." While not all Americans are part of the culture boom, "a major step toward democratization has, indeed, been taken." As a result, the "rise of a mass public for the arts can, in its way, be compared with the rise of mass literacy in the eighteenth century in England" (Toffler, 1965: 34, 51).

Other writers have taken a less sanguine view. Sociologist Herbert Gans maintains that high culture remains the preserve of a small circle of aficionados and a diverse "user-oriented" public that includes art patrons, collectors, highly educated professionals, and business executives. But the masses are still not reached, for in Gans' view high culture continues to serve "a small public that prides itself on exclusiveness" (Gans, 1974: 77).

Why have sophisticated critics and analysts failed to agree on whether the art public is mass or elite? Partly, it is a matter of definition. Should the term 'art' be restricted to paintings hanging in major museums, serious theatre, music played by symphony orchestras, and traditional or experimental opera and ballet? Or should we also

include commercial and community theater, jazz, crafts, foreign films, and 'pops' orchestras? By elite, do we mean the rich and top executives, or does the elite also encompass the upper-middle-classes and the college-educated? And does the arts public consist of anyone who makes an annual visit to a local art museum, or should the term be restricted to serious consumers of at least one of the traditional art forms? Much of the disagreement about the arts audience can be attributed to imprecise language on the part of the contestants. Yet however the terms are defined, good research on the public for the arts has been--and to a great extent, still is--relatively scarce and inaccessible, difficult to compare, and often equivocal in its findings.

William Baumol and William Bowen's careful and extensive study of the audience for the professional performing arts remains the landmark work in that area. Their assessment indicates that Veblen's insights have generally proven more enduring than those of Tocqueville. On the much-touted cultural boom of the 1960s they wrote, "evidence of a modest expansion in performing arts activity. . .,though by no means negligible, is far from universal and can hardly be called a cultural explosion" (1966: 36). Comparing the performing-arts audience to the urban population as a whole, they noted that its members were somewhat younger, far more well-educated, of higher occupational status, and higher income. Over 55 percent of the men surveyed had done graduate work (as compared to 5 percent of the adult urban population as a whole), while only 2 to 3 percent of employed males were blue-collar workers (as opposed to 60 percent of the urban population). Frequent attenders were of an even

higher status than infrequent visitors. Baumol and Bowen conclude that even "if there has been a significant rise in the size of audiences in recent years, it has certainly not yet encompassed the general public.... Attempts to reach a wider and more representative audience, to interest the less educated or the less affluent, have so far had limited effects" (1966: 96).

Although there exists a 50-year-old tradition of museum research in the United States, most research before 1970 was behavioral, concerned not with who visitors were but with how they responded to and learned from exhibits. The few early non-behavioral studies generally indicated that, except for the greater proportion of children, museum visitors were similar in most respects to audiences for the performing arts. Economic and educational profiles look nearly identical. An early study of the Boston Museum of Science, for instance, indicated a well educated and prosperous clientele; a third of the adult visitors were in professional or technical occupations, and over half were college educated (#246: 2). Similarly, a 1969 year-long survey of almost 5,000 visitors to the Smithsonian Institution found that 48 percent of the adults were professionals, 60 percent had family incomes exceeding $10,000, and 70 percent had some college education; only 14 percent were in blue-collar or service occupations (#264). Nonetheless, the studies varied in their findings. While one study found that only 3 to 5 percent of the 1969 visitors of three Manhattan museums were blue-collar workers, museums in neighboring Brooklyn, Yonkers, and Newark were discovered to attract visitor populations that were between 15 and 30 percent blue collar (#16). And one early

study of the Milwaukee Public Museum revealed that visitors were nearly representative of the American public: of the employed visitors, only a tenth were professionals and nearly half were laborers (#106). Overall, the early research suggested a highly affluent visitor population but one with greater diversity than that for the performing arts.

Until recently, however, the paucity of available studies made any generalizations hazardous; only in the past ten years has there been a large enough volume of research to make feasible efforts to develop general portraits of the arts audience. Literally hundreds of studies have been conducted of the public for museums and the live performing arts. While some of them have received considerable publicity, most are unpublished and uncirculated. Until now no attempt has been made to pull together their findings and develop generalizations about the American arts audience. Such an effort could answer many questions: How has the audience for the professional performing arts changed in the decade since Baumol and Bowen executed their study? Who goes to museums? Is there one or are there many arts audiences? Who are the frequent attenders and how do they differ from individuals who go only once? Does arts attendance result in economic benefits for neighboring institutions?

To examine these questions we have collected more than two hundred and fifty studies of audiences for museums and the live performing arts. Many of these studies are of low technical quality: often little care has been given to selecting a set of respondents typical of the audience about which the researchers want to learn; questions are phrased in an imprecise manner; or important information affecting the audience's composition has

been left out of the final report. But, in the aggregate, we hope to achieve a degree of certainty from the bulk of these studies that we could not expect from one or two alone. If a study of one museum's audience, for example, tells us that a disproportionate number of visitors are women (or men), we can say nothing about the visitors of other museums. If, however, twenty or thirty studies, with differing strengths and faults, report the same finding, we can begin to generalize with some confidence. In addressing these issues we are, of course, limited by the focus and nature of the studies assembled; in this report's concluding chapter we shall make some recommendations about the sort of research that is needed to resolve a number of important questions that currently available studies cannot satisfactorily answer.

It is critical to note that the issue of audience composition, attitudes, and behavior is not simply academic. Information on audiences is of vital interest to individuals concerned with managing the arts, those making general policy for the arts, and those of the public at large to whom the arts are important. For one thing, the arts are increasingly dependent upon public and corporate benefactors for their economic survival. Such donors may want to know just whom their contributions are serving. Particularly for publicly funded arts institutions, establishing the nature and breadth of the clientele to whom services are delivered may be critical to soliciting further support.

If, as many have suggested, exposure to the arts is both personally rewarding and a social good, it is important to know how widely the arts are being distributed. Before implementing efforts to expand the arts

audience or to develop art programs more responsive to public concerns and interests, it is important to know what groups are being excluded, why they do not attend, and what programs have successfully attracted them.

Understanding the audience for the arts is also crucial for a range of decisions that face managers and policy makers at every level. Information on public attitudes to the arts, the composition of existing audiences, and the spending habits of arts attenders can be used to establish policies for public and private support. Information on differing habits and preferences for performance times and ticket prices can be used to set schedules and establish admission prices. And managers can use information about who attends and where they find out about exhibits and performances to target scarce promotional resources.

While the tempo of audience research has increased, some arts managers continue to feel that they know their public, that they have an intuitive grasp of their clientele's nature and needs that renders research superfluous. What data there is on the question makes these claims appear dubious at best. In the course of a study of the public for the Royal Ontario Museum, Abbey and Cameron (1961) asked the museum staff to estimate the education and income levels of their visitors. The staff's estimates varied widely from the study's findings: while the staff estimated that 20 percent of the adult visitors had a college or university education, in fact the percentage was 41; and while the staff put the percentage of adult visitors with incomes in the highest category at 10, the actual percentage was 39. It is our sense from conversations with individuals in the arts that such discrepancies are not atypical.

In the remainder of this chapter we will use findings from over two hundred available studies to estimate the composition of the audience for the arts in the United States. We will begin by looking at what social scientists call "basic demographic variables"—age, sex, education, income, occupation, and race—characterizing the arts audience in terms of each, with special attention to variations among art forms. We shall then turn our attention to a set of more specific analytic questions that research has addressed. Has the audience composition changed over time? Is there one or are there many audiences for the arts? What has been the impact of the arts on local economies? And what are Americans' attitudes towards the arts?

THE STUDIES

Although audience surveys have been conducted for years, very little of the research has been published and many of the studies have been lost or buried in the institutions that conducted them. The resulting lack of centralized information about the utility, design, or results of audience research has proved a serious hindrance to every level of arts organization from the local symphony orchestra to the regional arts council. To help remedy this situation, we attempted to acquire as many reports of audience studies as were available. After an initial review of published audience surveys, we identified three basic kinds of studies of audiences for museums and the live performing arts. These three types of studies were: (1) attender surveys, in which the audience of a specific museum or performing-arts organization is surveyed, with questions concentrating on attenders' social or economic characteristics, motivations for attendance, and related issues; (2) cross-sectional surveys, in which a sample of a local, regional, or national population is surveyed, with questions focusing on frequency of attendance at museums and/or performing-arts events, attitudes toward cultural organizations and issues, and the social and economic characteristics of attenders and nonattenders; (3) impact studies, in which the impact of a museum exhibit, arts performance, or other feature of a cultural organization on an audience is evaluated.

A variety of approaches were developed to obtain as complete as possible a set of audience studies. We first conducted an extensive bibliographic search to create a complete list of published studies conducted

after 1950. Our review of thirty-five standard indexes and bibliographic sources yielded approximately 45 references to appropriate studies. We also consulted 12 institutional libraries such as those of the Massachusetts Council for the Arts and the Center for Arts Information in New York City for additional references.

Most audience studies, however, have never been published, and in order to acquire the unpublished studies, we directly approached those organizations that might have been involved in an audience study. We compiled a list of over 1200 arts organizations--museums, performing-arts organizations, regional, state, and local arts councils, support organizations for specific art forms, and foundations involved in funding the arts. The museums and performing arts organizations on our list were selected from the Art Museum Directory and the National Directory of Civic Centers and Performing Arts Organizations on the basis of size, as we felt that the larger organizations would be more likely to have conducted an audience survey or to know of other institutions which had. (Inquiries were mailed to all instrumental-music and theatrical organizations reporting budgets of over $100,000, all other performing-arts organizations with budgets of over $50,000 and all museums reporting 100,000 or more visitors annually.) To test this assumption, we did, however, include 100 smaller museums and performing-arts organizations on our list.

In October, 1976, the director or manager of each organization was sent a letter describing this project and a brief form that inquired whether the organization had ever conducted, commissioned, or participated

in an audience survey. If the organization had conducted a survey, the name and address of the survey's director and either a copy of the final report or information on how to obtain a copy were requested. Complete confidentiality was offered to those who requested it for any materials that were sent to us. Respondents were also asked if they knew of any other institutions that had conducted audience surveys. The response rate to this inquiry ultimately rose to over 50 percent, after the mailing of a follow-up letter and second inquiry form to institutions that had not yet responded. Those organizations reported by our respondents to have done audience studies were contacted by telephone or mail.

In addition to the bibliographic search and mailed survey, our two major acquisitions efforts, an effort was made to acquire other unpublished audience studies by contacting individuals highly involved in audience research. Finally, queries were placed in eight arts-related periodicals and newsletters (e.g., American Symphony Orchestra League Newsletter, Musical America, New York Times Sunday Book Review), requesting audience surveys. This effort yielded a number of additional audience studies.

The response to this search for audience studies was greater than expected. Our initial goal had been to evaluate all published and unpublished audience surveys conducted since 1964. By the end of the third month of acquisition, however, we had obtained 160 studies and were still receiving new ones. Within nine months of the start of acquisition we had assembled materials on more than 250 audience studies.

Certain difficulties were encountered during the acquisition stage. Remarkably few reports of audience studies have been published, compared

with research in other areas. Moreover, the majority of studies obtained through the library search were museum studies, reflecting a long tradition of visitor behavioral research that is unique to museums. Such journals as Curator and Museum News have published reports of visitor studies since the 1930s. The non-museum studies reported in the published literature tended to be large-scale, large-budget studies of performing-arts audiences or population cross-sections.

Studies received in response to the mailed inquiry varied enormously in the amount of information reported. Some consisted of a questionnaire with hand-tallied responses while others contained thorough explanations of methodology and extensive discussions of results. Despite our expressed interest in studies conducted in earlier years, almost all the studies received were conducted after 1970. Approximately 27 percent of the respondents stated that their organization had planned, conducted, or sponsored a study and 20 percent reported familiarity with other audience research.

Efforts to follow up references obtained through the mailed inquiry and bibliographic search met a substantial number of obstacles. Often, people in an institution reported to have conducted an audience study had no recollection of having conducted it or, if they did remember, the survey report had long since been lost. This is due in large part to the high turnover of employees of arts institutions. Often when the person responsible for conducting or initiating a study left the institution, so did the study. It was frequently necessary to contact nearly every department within an institution before we were able to locate someone familiar with surveys conducted as recently as twelve months before. Despite an offer

of confidentiality, five organizations refused access to their surveys. It should be noted that we have no way of estimating the number of surveys that were never meant to come to public attention; the number of explicit refusals received obviously underrepresents the actual number of deliberately buried studies.

The difficulties encountered during our search for audience studies, however, were negligible compared to the cooperation and generous assistance received from individuals involved in every area of the arts. The unusually high response rate of our mailed inquiry and the unexpectedly large number of audience studies received bear testimony to the interest in the area of audience research and reflect the need for greater communication within the field.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the institutions whose audiences are represented in the set of studies from which we developed the summary statistics that follow by no means represent a cross-section of all the museums and live performing-arts institutions in the United States. For one thing, we do not deal at all with audiences for art as transmitted by broadcasting or mechanical reproduction. (For information on research into the broadcast arts see Katzman and Wirt, 1977.) Nor do we include data on audiences for jazz, folk/ethnic music, or the popular arts. Nor can we generalize with complete confidence from the findings of the studies obtained to the composition of the total population of museum visitors or attenders of live theater, classical music, opera, dance, and ballet. The studies collected cover audiences from a wide range of institutions. Surveys of attenders and nonattenders in forty-one states and the District of Columbia are included, as well as several national cross-sectional studies. By art form, studies include: 74 studies of theater audiences; 44 studies of art-

museum visitors; 33 studies of population cross-sections; 32 studies of visitors to natural history, general, anthropology, and other related museums and exhibits; 19 studies of science-museum or science-exhibit visitors; 16 studies of classical-music audiences; 14 studies of those attending several kinds of arts institutions; 12 studies of visitors to history museums; 11 studies of visitors to arts centers; 7 studies of opera audiences; and 6 studies of ballet and dance audiences. (Since calculations for specific variables were based on subsets of these studies containing relevant data, and since many studies provided data on more than one audience or set of audiences, distributions provided in specific tables in the text of this report indicate the actual number of studies on which any given finding is based.) These studies include surveys of visitors and audiences for institutions that cover the full range in size.

Nonetheless, since we attempted to acquire as many studies as we could, and since nothing is known about the universe of all studies conducted or about the representativeness of institutions that conduct audience studies in comparison to all museums or live performing-arts institutions, there is undoubtedly some bias in our data. We can only speculate as to the extent to which our summary statistics deviate from the actual composition of American audiences for the live performing arts and for museums. Although most of the studies eventually received were from medium and small institutions, our inquiries were directed disproportionately at large and medium institutions. Thus, the larger institutions are overrepresented in our data, in comparison to the percentage they represent of all arts institutions, if not in comparison to the percentage of all annual visits and attendance for which they account. There is some reason to assume that the larger institutions in the larger cities

draw a somewhat more affluent and well educated public than smaller or community-based institutions. On the other hand, since the quality of studies was so uneven, since response rates and total numbers of respondents varied so greatly, and since necessary data were not available, there was neither a powerful rationale for nor the possibility of weighting institutions by total attendance in calculating overall audience-composition figures. The effect of granting data from small institutions equal weight with data from major institutions would tend to countervail any tendency for the perhaps disproportionately high representation of studies of major institutions to inflate the audience percentages in high-status categories.

The audiences from which data have been drawn may be unrepresentative in several other ways. We do not know if audiences that are studied are systematically different from audiences that have not been studied. Out of the universe of all audience studies that have been conducted, we could speculate that we gathered a larger percentage of published than of unpublished studies, of recent than of less recent studies, of studies for which reports were written than of studies yielding no formal reports, of major in-house or academic studies than of proprietary studies, of studies of organizations with relatively low staff turnover than of studies of organizations with relatively greater staff turnover, and of demographic and opinion surveys than of exhibit-evaluation or performing-arts-impact studies. Given the number and diversity of studies from which conclusions are drawn, we do not think that these factors strongly bias findings one way or the other. Nonetheless, the statistics provided in this chapter must be seen as <u>estimates</u> rather than as scientifically rigorous descriptions of the public for museums and the live performing arts.

BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS

GENDER

It is believed in many quarters that the public associates the arts with femininity and that this association inhibits many men from attending the arts. The Theatre Communications Group, in a 1967 report on audience development, suggests that theater-going "repudiates for many people the all-American, red-blooded image of what is supposed to be 'all-right' for a man to do and still be considered 'all-man'" (Theatre Communications Group, 1967: 31). Consequently, some believe, arts audiences are dominated by women. Thus, an early study of a symphonic-music audience concluded that the "sex difference in Symphony interest and attendance--more women than men--is borne out by statistic after statistic, study after study. The in-concert survey, the in-home interviews, and hundreds of academic studies irrefutably prove the point." The attendance difference can be traced to an underlying personality difference, according to this study, for "women have greater esthetic appreciation for music, as they do for art and literature, than men, who place greater emphasis on theoretical, economic, political, and practical-success values" (#64: 15). Arts policies have often been shaped in accord with this perception. Audience development strategies to "de-feminize" the arts have appeared, such as Bradley Morison's (1968) effort to move news and publicity of the Guthrie Theatre from the woman's page to the sports section of Minneapolis newspapers. Similarly, dance companies have occasionally emphasized their performers' athletic prowess in promotional materials.

Other evidence, however, seemingly contradicts the belief that arts audiences are heavily female and that attendance is held to be a

feminine activity. In a recent national survey of attitudes towards the arts, respondents were asked if "The arts are too effeminate for most men to feel comfortable taking part in them." While 18 percent of the public agreed with this view, an overwhelming majority—65 percent—rejected it (#7: 34). The public's belief may even have a factual basis, for Baumol and Bowen's (1966) survey of the audiences of more than 150 professional arts-organization performances revealed that men were in the majority, composing 52 percent of the average audience.

The true gender composition of the arts audience remains a controversial and unresolved question, no doubt in part because studies have sharply varied in the gender ratios reported. Resolution of the issue, therefore, requires systematic assessment of gender ratios across all studies, and this section reports a summary of the findings of 72 audience studies (which constitute all of the studies in our possession reporting sex composition). In turning to the statistics reported by these studies, it is useful to keep two points in mind. First, in some cases response bias may significantly skew the observed proportions away from the true population proportions. The nature and extent of the bias depend on the specific variable of interest. In the case of gender, Baumol and Bowen (1966), for instance, suggest that when survey forms are distributed to couples attending an arts performance, husbands will tend to assert the "male prerogative" and complete the questionnaires themselves, thereby inflating the male proportion in the audience; but Book and Globerman (1975) have argued the opposite, suggesting that the male prerogative in this instance would actually be to delegate the task to the wife, thereby inflating the female proportion in the audience. Such

arguments aside, the true extent of the bias either way has not yet been measured, although one study suggests that a slightly greater tendency for men to complete audience questionnaires increases the observed male proportion by 4 to 7 percent above the true percentage. In this study, groups entering a museum were approached and asked to volunteer one person to respond to an interview. In one instance, 54 percent of the volunteers were men, while only 50 percent of the groups were men; in another case (the Royal Ontario Museum), the respective percentages were 58 and 51 (#121).

The second point to keep in mind when interpreting the results of these studies is the presence of sampling error. Even if a sample is drawn at random from an audience and response bias is negligible, the demographic patterns observed in the sample may significantly depart from those in the full audience population. Samples are rarely precisely representative of their populations, though most are closely representative. The extent of close approximation is highly dependent on the sample size, with larger samples producing more accurate estimates. This can be illustrated by considering the finding that 46 percent of a random sample of an audience is male. While it may appear that males constitute a minority of the arts attenders, if the sample size is 100 we are only 95 percent certain that the true percentage lies within 10 points of the observed figure (i.e., between 36 and 56 percent). However, were the sample size 1,000, the 95 percent confidence range would be reduced to 3 points on either side of 48 percent, and increasing the size to 10,000 would further decrease the range to 1 point (45 to 47 percent). Thus, were the sample small, it would be risky to conclude that males are in the minority, but

such a conclusion would be appropriate if the sample were very large. The samples of the studies considered here range from under 100 to over 10,000 respondents; the median size is approximately 500. The 95-percent confidence interval for samples of 500 is 4 points above and below the observed percentage. With studies of this scope, then, if 40 percent of the respondents are male we can be nearly certain that males are indeed a minority of the audience: but if 48 percent are male, such a conclusion cannot be drawn with great confidence.

Many of the 72 studies containing information on sex composition reported results for separate times and performances, and consequently data were available on 112 distinct audiences (67 in the performing arts and 45 for museums). The median percentage of men reported in the studies is displayed in Table 2.1. While the percentage of men in the U.S. population is 49, the median percentage of men observed in the museum studies was 46, and in the performing arts the percentage was 43. Though it is evident that women participate in arts audiences in proportions greater than their share of the public as a whole, the extent is very modest. Moreover, the gender ratio varied extensively from audience to audience; the male percentage ranged from 30 to 71 percent in the case of museums and from 31 to 58 percent for the performing arts. Men out-numbered women in a quarter of the performing-arts studies and two-fifths of the museum visitor surveys. We have been unable to identify the factors that account for the striking gap between the average male percentage reported in the performing arts studies surveyed here (43 percent) and the average male percentage (52 percent) found in the performing arts surveys conducted

Table 2.1

Percentage Men in Audience Studies, by Art Form

Art Form	Median Percentage	Percentage Range	Number of studies within percentage range								Total no. of studies
			27-32	32-37	37-42	42-47	47-52	52-57	57-62	62-72	
All museums	46.0%	30-71%	2	3	8	13	10	5	4	4	45
Art museums	43.0	30-59	2	3	8	10	6		1		30
History museums	48.5	44-53				2	1	1			4
Science museums	52.0	43-71				1	3	4	3		11
All perform. arts	42.5	31-58	1	15	14	21	6	8	2		67
Ballet and dance	40.0	31-50	1	5	3	2	2				13
Theater	42.5	32-58		8	7	11	3	3	1		33
Orchestra	44.5	33-54		2	3	4	1	2			12
Opera	46.1	41-58			1	4		3	1		9

by Baumol and Bowen (1966).

The median sex composition also varied among the art forms. Art museums disproportionately drew women (57 percent of their visitors on average), while history museums attracted equal representation of both sexes and science museums were slightly favored by men (52 percent of the visitors). Within the performing arts, ballet and dance acquired the strongest female audience (60 percent on average), and opera drew the largest proportion of males, though men still did not constitute a majority (46 percent). Even within these art forms, the sex composition varied widely; opera audiences, for instance, ranged from three-fifths men to three-fifths women, and art museum visitors varied from three-fifths men to two-thirds women.

Clearly, then, there was a slight overall tendency for women to outnumber men in arts audiences, though this did not hold for history and science museum visitors. It is equally clear, however, that the sex ratio varied enormously around these central tendencies. The median figures represent statistical tendencies and in most cases they are poor predictors of actual audience composition.

Although a fraction of the wide variation observed in audience gender ratios is undoubtedly due to sampling fluctuation and to the use of nonprobability sampling techniques (which can introduce systematic bias), a substantial part of the variation stems from factors that differentially affect the likelihood of men and women attending the arts. Perhaps of greatest significance is whether the visiting or performance time is during a workday. Weekday times are obviously unattractive for most working people, and the labor-force participation rate of men is

approximately twice that of women (fewer than half of age-eligible women are employed). This time factor may account for as much as 10 percent or more of the variation in sex composition. A study of visitors to New York's Natural History Museum found that 52 percent of the weekday visitors were men, contrasting with 59 percent on Saturdays (#203). Another inquiry revealed that while men and women were equally represented on Sundays among museum visitors in the New York metropolitan region, the composition shifted to 62 percent women on Thursdays (#16). Similarly studies of performing-arts audiences in the states of New York and Washington found that the proportion of men in the audience fluctuated by 10 percent depending on the time of the performance (#73; #63).

The content of the performance or exhibit may also differentially attract men and women. For instance, the proportion of men in the weekend audience of different productions of the Joffrey Ballet ranged from 33 to 44 percent (#94). And a study of the visitors of the Chicago Art Institute discovered that 10 percent more women attended during a week in which a special Monet exhibit was on temporary display than during three other weeks (#135). Factors associated with geographic region may also influence the sex composition. Thus, 51 percent of the New York City performing arts audience is women, 53 percent of the New York state audience is women, and 62 percent of the Washington state attenders are women. However, the regional factors accounting for this variation have not yet been identified (#73; #63).

AGE

The age composition of the audience for the arts has interested arts administrators for a number of reasons. A profile of the age of the audience, of course, can help direct audience development efforts towards one age group or another. Recently, for instance, there has also been a growing movement to make the arts more accessible to older Americans by offering transportation, special ticket discounts and arranging special performance times (Johnson and Prieve, 1976). It is also believed that a young attender may grow up to be an old attender and, while the link between attendance in one's youth and in one's prime has not yet been fully described, arts managers often view a young audience with an optimistic eye to the future. The age composition of the audience also raises other interesting if more academic questions. Is culture an acquired taste? Does the age composition of the audience differ from that of the general population? On the latter question, most observers believe the difference is small. Johnson and Prieve (1976), for instance, asked 605 arts administrators whether they thought that the age breakdown of their audience was roughly equivalent to that of the community: 60 percent said yes, while 18 percent felt their audience was younger and 16 percent felt it was older.

Two factors should be kept in mind when examining the age data. First, some of the studies in our possession restricted their subject population to those individuals over a certain age. Ten of the forty museum studies only surveyed the over sixteen visitor population and eight included only those who were over ten years of age. Likewise, nine of

the performing-arts studies restricted their sample to those over sixteen and seven studies limited their sample to audience members over ten years of age. To examine whether this restriction made any systematic difference in the results of the studies, we compared the median ages reported by the studies that did restrict their sample with those that did not. Surprisingly, there were no systematic differences. Several factors may account for this. First, many of the studies may actually have limited their sample population but not stated so in the report. Also, it is possible that study procedures were frequently biased against the very young because of the difficulties of obtaining reliable data from them. Another possibility is that the under-sixteen population is indeed negligible, although available evidence suggests that this is the case only for the performing arts and art museums. Studies of history- and science-museum visitor populations that explicitly did not restrict their sample often report substantial numbers of young children. The Nassau County Historical Museum in New York, for instance, reported that 40 percent of their visitor population was under thirteen (#2) and the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia found that 39 percent of their visitors were under twelve and 4 percent were under five years of age (#234). However, science- and history-museum studies generally report far greater numbers of children attending than do art museums. The Minneapolis Institute of Art found that the proportion of visitors under thirteen was under 3 percent in 1970 and 1971 (#247), and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston reports that only one in fifty of their visitors was under sixteen (#17). Studies of performing-arts audiences show, on the whole, a comparably small percentage of visitors under sixteen.

Another factor that may affect study results is the presence of response bias. It may be that youths defer to adults when responding to surveys, thus making the audience appear older than it really is. The New York State Museum, for example, found few respondents under 14 years old in one survey but noted that the actual proportion in attendance was approximately representative of the young population at large (#121). In this study, groups entering a museum were approached and asked to volunteer one person to respond to an interview. The interviewer also collected data on the group composition. In this instance the age composition of the group was inferred from the group's education levels.

Eighty-two of the studies in our possession contained data on the age composition of 145 distinct audiences. Most of these studies presented the data as the percent of the audience falling within various age categories. The age categories, unfortunately, varied widely, and for comparative purposes we have computed the median age for each audience (see Table 2.2). To allow for comparison between the age composition of each art form, we also found the median of the median ages; we refer to this number as the median age of the art form.

The median age of 105 audiences of the performing arts was 35, while the median age of 40 museum visitor populations was 31. This difference is consistent with the results of two studies of the arts audience conducted by the National Research Center of the Arts. NRCA found that the median age for the performing arts in New York State was five years older (37) than the median age of the museum visitor population (#73); a thirteen-year gap was observed in audiences for the arts in Washington State (#63).

Table 2.2

Median Age of Audiences, by Art Form

Art Form	Median of Medians	Range of Medians	Number of studies within age range								Total no.of studies
			19-22	23-26	27-30	31-34	35-38	39-42	43-46	47-50	
All museums	31	19-51	2	2	16	11	3	4	1	1	40
Art museums	31	26-51		1	6	6	2	2	1	1	19
History museums	33	28-42			2	1	1	1			5
Science museums	29	19-40	2	1	8	4		1			16
All performing arts	35	21-49	5	7	14	23	22	21	8	5	105
Ballet and dance	33	30-38			1	11	3				15
Theatre	34	21-48	5	6	12	9	13	10	3	2	60
Orchestra	40	24-49		1	1	2	3	8	3	2	20
Opera	41	33-40				1	3	3	2	1	10

The summary statistics indicate that the median age for the performing arts was in the middle to late thirties while the median age for the museum visitor population was in the early thirties. These figures lie between the median age of the entire U.S. population (twenty-eight) and the median age for the population sixteen and over (forty). One should however take note of the great range in the average ages both within and between art forms. Median ages for performing-arts audiences varied from twenty-one to forty-nine; for museum visitor populations it ranged from nineteen to fifty-one. Thus, on the average, arts audiences exhibited age profiles similar to that of the entire population, but specific audiences frequently diverged greatly from this central tendency.

Ballet and theater attracted the youngest audiences of the performing arts, with median ages of thirty-three and thirty-four respectively, while opera and symphony drew the oldest audiences, with median ages of forty-one and forty. The National Research Center of the Arts found an identical age rank ordering of the four performing-art forms in their studies of audiences in New York State and Washington State. Baumol and Bowen (1966) identified almost the same pattern except that the average age of the opera attender was higher than that of the symphony attender.

The median age for the science-museum visitor was two years lower than that of the art museum visitor, but the difference was not as great as between the various performing-arts forms. Again the NRCA studies also found that the museum visitor population was older in art museums than in science museums.

The age composition of the audience may vary systematically with

the seasons of the year, with the summer attracting younger visitors. The NRCA found that the median age of performing-arts audiences in New York State was thirty-three in the summer and thirty-eight in the fall, though the same did not appear to be true of the museum visitor population. However, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (#17) did find a slight seasonal variation: the median age of the winter visitors was twenty-eight, while the average for the summer visitors was twenty-six. The results of the other museum studies yield no consistent pattern. The Natural History Museum in New York (#203) found no variation, but the Chicago Art Museum (#135) found that visitors were younger in June and November than in February and March.

Another possible source of variation in age composition is the time of performance. The National Research Center of the Arts found that the median age for weekend evening performances was consistently lower than the median age of the matinee audience. The median age for weekend evening performances was forty and thirty-five in Washington State (#63) and New York State (#73) respectively, forty-two and thirty-seven for weekday evening performances and forty-nine and forty-six for matinee performances. Audiences for the Joffrey Ballet (#94) showed this same pattern: the median age for the weekend evening audience was thirty-one while the median for the matinee audience was thirty-three.

There is some evidence that different programs have greater attraction for certain age groups than others. The previously mentioned study of the Joffrey Ballet (#94) reports that the median age of the audience for a performance promoted as a rock evening was younger than for other perfor-

mances, and Moore's study of Broadway theater audiences found that musicals attracted a younger audience than straight shows (#38).

The NRCA reports differences in the age composition of different regions. The median age of the performing arts audience in one region (Southern Tier Central, Finger Lakes) of New York State was thirty-three, while the median age was forty-four in another region (New York City suburbs, mid-Hudson). They also report a higher median age for both the performing-arts audience and the museum visitor population in Washington State than in New York State. However, the reasons for this regional variation are unclear.

EDUCATION

Of all the characteristics of individuals that studies frequently measure, a person's educational background appears to be the best predictor of his or her attendance at museums and live performing-arts events. The Ford Foundation, for example, found that while frequency of attendance at a variety of performing arts was related to both income and education, the latter factor was by far the more important of the two. Individuals with much education but little money were more likely to attend the theater, symphony, opera, and ballet than people with high incomes but little education (#115: 14-16). Similarly, analysis of a national cross-sectional study of residents of cities and suburbs found education to be a better determinant of attendance at concerts, plays, museums, and fairs than are income or occupational standing (Gruenberg, 1975).

There are several reasons why individuals with education, particularly higher education, might be expected to attend more arts events than their less educated peers. For one thing, understanding most works of art requires a certain amount of familiarity and background information to undertake the decoding that leads to appreciation. While the aficionado may tend to minimize the extent to which he or she relies upon such a background--great art is often said to be universal--one need only remember the confusion and outrage that greeted the work of such now admired artists as Debussy, Joyce, or the Impressionists to see the importance of background. Schooling exposes students not only to formal training in the arts, but, perhaps more importantly to a social milieu in which the arts are performed, exhibited, and discussed (The Arts, Education and Americans Panel,

1977).

Second, arts attendance is a habit that one develops over a period of time. A person may enjoy opera, but if performances are not locally available, or there is no one to go with, he or she is unlikely to attend. By the same token, one may find modern painting incomprehensible, but if one's friends frequent galleries and museums, sooner or later one is likely to give it a try. Education, particularly higher education, provides both an environment in which the arts are relatively accessible and a group of peers who attend with regularity. Finally, a disproportionate number of men and women who acquire a higher education have parents who are also well educated. Children of the well educated are more likely than others to have been exposed to the arts when they were young and may already frequent the arts by the time they reach college (DiMaggio and Useem, in press).

To learn about the educational attainment of the American arts audience, we analyzed the results of 71 studies reporting findings for 108 audiences for the performing arts and museums. In doing this, we faced several methodological dilemmas. First of all, different studies reported education using different sets of categories. Since median education levels could not be calculated for every study, it was necessary to describe audience educational composition by reporting the percentages of an audience that fell in five categories of educational attainment.

A second problem involved differences in sampling designs used in the various audience studies. Of the 107 audiences for which findings were reported in at least one of our five education categories, 57 indicated

a minimum age criterion had been used to exclude audience members from either the sample or the analysis. Minimum ages, when reported, differed considerably. Three studies excluded audience members younger than ten. Studies of three audiences used cutoff ages from thirteen to fifteen, studies of twenty audiences employed a cutoff age from sixteen to eighteen, studies of sixteen audiences asked for the education of the household head only, one survey excluded "non-adults," another excluded "students," and one included only non-students eighteen years or older. Twelve studies reported the educational attainment of only those respondents aged twenty-five or over. It is likely that children were also underrepresented in samples that did not explicitly exclude them due both to their difficulty in completing questionnaires and to a probable tendency for adults to answer on behalf of children. The extent of this underrepresentation cannot be determined. If an institution is interested in the educational level of the public for its offerings, it makes sense to inquire about the educational level of all members of the audience. If, on the other hand, an institution is interested in the educational level of the ticket-buying public, it is more appropriate to establish a mid-teen minimum age criterion on the grounds that young attenders are less likely to make the actual decision to attend than adults. Finally, if one sees education as a measure of social status, one might establish a mid-twenties minimum age since including respondents still in school would bias the findings. Differences in the respondent age criterion do affect the findings of a study to some extent; nonetheless, major differences in the findings of studies with different exclusionary principles did not appear, so all studies are

pooled in the analysis here.

As expected, the educational attainment of the arts audience surveyed was substantially higher than that for the adult public at large. Thirty percent of the typical audience had some graduate training; 54 percent had at least acquired a bachelor's degree, compared to 14 percent for the adult population in general (see Table 2.3). Only 22 percent on average had not attended any college, compared to 74 percent of the public as a whole, and only 5 percent were not high school graduates, in contrast to 38 percent of the general adult public.

There was considerable variation among studies, with the percentage of individuals with graduate training ranging from 6 to 66 percent and the percentage of non-high-school graduates varying from 1 to 57 percent. The first and last figures were reported in a study of the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1962-63 (#35): since almost half the respondents were aged seventeen or younger and more than three quarters were less than twenty-four years of age, this accounts for much of the extremely low educational level. A study of the same institution two years later, excluding children under thirteen, found only 25 percent of the visitors to be non-high-school graduates (#108).

The educational attainment of live performing-arts audiences was found to be somewhat higher than that of museum visitors. The median percentage reported for individuals with graduate training was 31 for the performing arts and 18 for museums, with a range of 9 to 66 percent and 6 to 35 percent, respectively. The average percentage of college graduates was similarly higher in the performing arts, 56 percent to 41 percent (with ranges

Table 2.3

Percentage of Audiences in Five Educational Categories, by Art Form

Art form	Education level														
	Post-BA Training			At least college graduate			At least some college			High school graduate or less			Less than high school graduate		
	M[1]	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)
All museums	17.5	6-35	(13)	41.1	10-66	(23)	72.3	30-93	(18)	27.6	8-69	(18)	9.0	4-57	(23)
Art museums	22.0	18-35	(5)	48.0	41-66	(9)	83.5	75-90	(6)	17.0	10-25	(6)	5.5	4-16	(8)
Other museums[2]	13.5	6-20	(8)	34.4	10-53	(14)	59.6	30-93	(12)	40.4	8-69	(12)	13.1	7-57	(14)
All perform. arts	30.7	9-66	(60)	55.9	23-87	(71)	78.7	56-95	(62)	20.7	5-44	(63)	4.5	1-19	(45)
Theater[3]	32.7	20-50	(24)	58.0	23-80	(27)	82.7	56-93	(25)	17.1	8-44	(26)	4.0	1-15	(21)
Classical music	37.5	21-66	(8)	63.0	46-87	(9)	83.4	63-95	(8)	14.6	5-37	(8)	1.7	1-19	(8)
Ballet and dance[4]	45.5	20-50	(5)	65.0	55-73	(10)	87.1	77-92	(5)	12.9	8-23	(5)	3.0	1-5	(10)
Opera	37.3	29-49	(5)	61.8	49-75	(7)	83.0	67-94	(6)	18.8	7-33	(6)	4.1	2-7	(6)
Museums and perform. arts[5]	30.0	6-66	(73)	54.0	10-87	(97)	78.0	30-95	(83)	22.0	5-69	(84)	5.0	1-57	(72)
U.S. population over 24 years of age, 1975	n.a.			13.9			26.3			73.7			37.5		

[1] M=median percentage; R=range of percentages; N=number of studies

[2] Includes science, history, natural history, anthropology, and general museums.

[3] Excludes audiences of outdoor dramas.

[4] Dance audience percentages available only for two educational levels--at least college graduate and less than high school graduate.

[5] Number of studies exceeds sum of other categories due to inclusion of regional studies reporting attendance of all, undifferentiated art forms.

of 23 to 87 percent and 10 to 66 percent). Museums also attracted more visitors with relatively little education than did the performing arts. The median percentage of non-high-school graduates was 9 percent for museums but 5 percent for the performing arts; a median 28 percent of the museum visitor populations had not gone beyond high school compared to 21 percent of the performing-arts audiences. Some, but not all, of the discrepancy is attributable to the greater representation of young people still in school among museum visitors.

As anticipated, studies that excluded children under the ages of from 10 to 15 had a higher median audience percentage of non-high-school graduates, 24 percent, while those excluding visitors under the ages of from 16 to 20 had a median percentage of only 7. The median percentage of non-high-school graduates in studies with no explicit exclusionary rule was 16 percent, probably reflecting unreported defacto exclusion of younger visitors. Similarly, studies that excluded only the very young reported a median of 24 percent of visitors with college degrees, while studies that drew the line higher recorded a median of 43 percent. Studies that did not explicitly exclude anyone reported an audience median for college graduates of 45 percent, again suggesting that the young were undersampled. However, even the set of museums that excluded their younger visitors from the survey reported that their audience was slightly less well educated than the typical performing-arts audience.

Among the performing arts, ballet and dance audiences included slightly above average proportions of well educated attenders; theater audiences included slightly below average proportions. The educational attainment

of theater audiences as a whole was somewhat understated due to the presence of studies of eighteen audiences for outdoor patriotic or religious dramas and pageants. When these are excluded from the analysis, the theater-audience educational level was increased, but it was still somewhat lower than audiences for other performing-art forms. The average percentage of individuals with graduate training was 33 for theater (excluding the outdoor dramas mentioned above) and 46 percent for ballet and dance.

Among museums, art museums attracted a more well educated public than did history, science, and other museums, though still not so well educated as the audiences for the performing arts. Of other museum audiences, 14 percent on the average had graduate training and 34 percent were college graduates (still far higher than the public as a whole), as compared to 22 and 48 percent, respectively, for art-museum audiences. Similarly, 17 percent of art-museum audiences but 40 percent of other museum audiences had no higher education.

It is evident that visitors to museums and audiences for the live performing arts were considerably more well educated than is the public at large. Within the arts, museums appeared to serve a somewhat broader public than did the performing arts. Nonetheless, in terms of educational attainment, museum visitors and performing-arts audiences surveyed were far more similar to one another than either group was to the general public.

The studies that we reviewed show audiences to be somewhat less educationally exclusive than did the Baumol and Bowen study of the performing arts (1966). While some discrepancies, such as the relatively high proportion of individuals with no higher education in the opera audience reported

in some of our studies, are surprising, most can be attributed to Baumol and Bowen's exclusion of respondents under the age of twenty-five and the restriction of their audiences to the professional performing arts.

Overall, the well educated were overrepresented in arts audiences relative to their share of the population with striking consistency. The proportion of college graduates reported for the arts exceeded the proportion of the adult population with college diplomas in all but one of ninety-seven audience studies; and the percentage of individuals who had not completed high school was below the national level in seventy-one of seventy-two audiences. Both exceptions are due to presence of students still in high school. And in seventy-eight of eighty-three audiences for which findings are available, the proportion of attenders with at least some college training was <u>twice</u> that for the general public.

OCCUPATION

Next to education, occupation is perhaps the demographic characteristic most closely related to individuals' involvement in the arts. Gruenberg found occupational status a more significant predictor of attendance at cultural events and institutions (concerts, plays, museums, fairs, and adult-education classes) than income, second only to educational attainment (Gruenberg, 1975: 68-69). And cross-sectional studies of national and local populations have consistently found higher rates of attendance among professionals and managers than any other group (#'s 73, 115, 137, 142).

This tendency is not surprising. For one thing, those occupational groups that show the highest rates of attendance are also those with the highest educational attainment. Blue-collar workers, who attend least, also have the least education. Moreover, one's job determines to a great extent the social milieu in which one spends one's leisure time. The participation of a lawyer, teacher, or physician in the arts may be rewarded with respect by associates and peers; among these groups, attendance at the theater or symphony is an accepted or even preferred way of spending a social evening. By contrast, a carpenter or bus driver with a penchant for the arts may receive less encouragement from his or her friends and co-workers and may find bowling, boating, or billiards a more acceptable social activity.

To better understand the occupational composition of American arts attenders, we analyzed the results of fifty-nine studies of ninety-six audiences that asked respondents to report their occupations. Our findings were consistent with the expectation that art audiences are dominated

by individuals in relatively high-status occupations. Professionals, who constituted 15 percent of the employed civilian labor force in 1975, composed a median 56 percent of employed persons in the arts audiences surveyed (see Table 2.4). Conversely, blue-collar workers typically constituted a mere 4 percent of employed respondents in the arts audiences surveyed, as compared to 34 percent of the employed civilian labor force as a whole.

Although the summary statistics are striking, the reader should be cautioned that the median figures are to be regarded as approximations. The classification schemes used in audience-study reports to characterize respondents' occupations were so varied that comparability was established only with great difficulty. The occupational categories used here are designed to be compatible with as many study findings as possible and to be comparable to the classifications used by the United States Census. Categories used to report occupation in some study reports were vague enough to encompass those employed in several more conventional categories. For example, many studies used an occupational category called "business," which may in some cases have included business secretaries and clerks as well as executives while excluding managers of public and nonprofit concerns. Because most studies reported occupation as a percentage of total respondents, rather than as a percentage of employed respondents, results from many studies had to be recomputed. In some cases, categories were merged to fit into the scheme used here. In other instances, study results could not be reliably altered to fit our classificatory system and the findings were dropped. This categorization scheme, then, represents a

Table 2.4

Occupational Distribution of Audiences

Occupation[1]	Percentage of employed labor force (1975)[2]	Median percentage of employed respondents in arts audience %	(N)[3]
Professionals	15.0	55.9	(65)
Teachers	4.1	22.1	(22)
Artists, writers, entertainers	1.0	8.2	(8)
Managerial	10.5	14.9	(51)
Clerical/Sales	24.2	14.6	(41)
Service	14.1	3.7	(13)
Blue-Collar	33.6	3.7	(71)

	Percentage of US population aged 16 or over[2]	Median percentage of all respondents in arts audience %	(N)
Homemakers	23.1	14.0	(78)
Students	5.5	18.0	(80)
Retired, unemployed	11.2	4.5	(65)

[1]U.S. Census categories and audience categories are only approximately comparable due to varying classification schemes used in arts audience studies.

[2]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts, 1976 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1976); U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1976 (Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1976). Figures for U.S. population aged 16 or over excludes military personnel.

[3]Number of audience studies reporting information for this category.

compromise among the large variety used in the reports we have analyzed. As a result, while the findings can be used with confidence to assess general similiarities and differences among art forms, great precision should not be attributed to the figures reported here.

An additional caveat involves the difficulty in using even the standard census classification of occupations. Even in those cases where audience studies used classifications similar to census categories, only the most experienced analysts can unerringly place specific occupations into their appropriate general categories. For example, airplane pilots are considered professionals, ship pilots are managers, and airplane stewardesses are service employees; registered nurses are professionals, while practical nurses are service employees; an inspector is blue-collar unless he is a construction inspector, in which case he is managerial. Few people on either end of an audience survey--visitors responding to forced-choice occupation questions or coders classifying open-ended ones--can be expected to have mastered the byzantine census system, and a degree of error is to be expected.

Professionals. As noted, one of the most striking consistencies in the occupational distribution of the arts audiences surveyed was the very high representation of professionals, who make up 56 percent of employed respondents in the median arts audience but only 15 percent of the total 1975 civilian work force. Professionals were present in numbers proportionately greater than their share of the population in every one of the sixty-five arts audiences for which appropriate data were reported. In all but four of these audiences, the percentage of professionals was at least twice that in the work

force as a whole, in forty-six their percentage was three times the national figure and, in more than a quarter of the studies they were represented above their percentage of the national population by a factor of four.

It should be noted that the professional census category includes not only such individuals as doctors, lawyers, and architects but also members of lower status professions such as teachers, engineers, librarians, dieticians, social workers, and computer programmers. The number of respondents falling in this category may, in some studies, by understated since, in some cases, individuals in lower-status technical professions may have been included in residual "white-collar" categories. For example, in a 1976 study of the Guthrie Theatre audience (#122), in which only teachers, doctors, and lawyers were coded as professionals and a residual white-collar category was used, the professional/technical percentage of the employed audience was only 40.4 percent, compared to 56.5 percent in studies of the Guthrie audience undertaken in 1963 and 1973 (#117, #126). The latter had precoded professional, technical and clerical/sales categories. (For the few studies that included separate "technical" categories, "technical" respondents were included with "professionals" for this analysis.)

The professional proportion of the typical audience was significantly higher for the performing arts than for museums, 59 percent compared to 42 percent (see Table 2.5). The low overall median for museums was the result of relatively low professional proportions at non-art museums, which reported a median 41 percent professional representation. Six art-museum visitor studies exhibited a professional median of 59 percent, almost exactly the same as the median for the performing arts.

Table 2.5

Occupational Distribution of Audiences, by Art Form

Art form	Occupation[1]														
	Professional/ Managerial			Professional Only			Teachers			Managerial Only			Clerical & Sales		
	M[1]	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)
All museums	65.3	27-96	(32)	42.2	12-73	(17)	23.1	15-33	(6)	9.6	4-27	(14)	14.3	5-28	(23)
Art museums	77.1	56-96	(16)	59.2	31-74	(6)	23.1	15-33	(5)	9.0	4-27	(6)	14.3	4-22	(14)
Other museums	53.2	27-72	(16)	41.9	12-50	(11)	--	--	--	10.2	6-22	(8)	16.0	5-28	(9)
All perform. arts	70.9	49-95	(42)	59.1	24-80	(44)	17.9	6-33	(16)	15.6	4-27	(33)	18.0	8-33	(15)
Ballet and dance	74.6	61-88	(9)	59.6	55-73	(8)	--	--	--	15.2	7-22	(7)	--	--	--
Theater	69.5	49-95	(23)	56.3	24-70	(25)	17.9	6-33	(7)	16.0	4-27	(20)	19.7	8-29	(10)
Orchestra	75.5	64-87	(5)	61.1	50-80	(6)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Opera	--	--	--	58.3	50-70	(5)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

[1]The "professional/managerial" and "professional only" categories include teachers. The percentages for "homemakers," "students," and "retired/unemployed" are based on all respondents; the percentages for the other categories are based on employed respondents only. Percentages are not reported when fewer than five studies are available.

Table 2.5 (continued)

Occupational Distribution of Audiences, by Art Form

Art form	Occupation											
	Blue-Collar			Homemakers			Students			Retired & Unemployed		
	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)	M	R	(N)
All museums	8.5	0-45	(35)	14.5	6-26	(24)	22.0	0-57	(25)	5.0	1-21	(21)
Art museums	3.1	0-12	(16)	13.0	7-22	(9)	22.5	0-40	(10)	8.0	3-21	(9)
Other museums	16.7	4-45	(19)	15.8	6-26	(15)	20.0	10-57	(15)	3.3	1-9	(12)
All perform. arts	2.8	0-27	(34)	14.0	5-52	(51)	17.1	5-63	(51)	3.9	0-16	(40)
Ballet and dance	2.7	1-7	(10)	11.1	6-32	(10)	15.0	9-34	(10)	3.0	1-5	(9)
Theater	2.9	0-27	(15)	14.0	5-52	(27)	18.9	5-63	(27)	4.2	0-16	(24)
Orchestra	--	--	--	19.0	5-26	(7)	18.0	7-31	(7)	--	--	--
Opera	2.8	1-13	(5)	16.2	8-40	(6)	10.7	7-23	(6)	--	--	--

Except for the deviant profile of the non-art museum category, findings were remarkably uniform for the various art forms. Among the performing arts, median professional percentages ranged from 56 percent for the theater to 61 percent for classical music audiences. These figures are similar to but slightly lower than Baumol and Bowen's findings (1966) on occupation; the discrepancy is probably attributable to the presence of a greater proportion of relatively major institutions among those whose audiences they sampled.

One group of professionals--teachers--appeared to play a special role in the arts audience. Teachers (including college and university faculty) constituted 21 percent of the twenty-two arts audiences for which findings were available, with a median 18 percent for the performing arts and 23 percent for museums. This figure was more than five times their percentage of the employed civilian work force (4.1 percent). If we assume that audiences for which teacher percentages were reported are not systematically different from other audiences that reported professional percentages, then the median percentage of professional attenders who were teachers (37.7 percent) exceeds the percentage of teachers among professionals in the employed work force as a whole (28.2 percent in 1970) by more than a third. Thus teachers seem to be heavy attenders among heavy attenders.

A second professional group reported as participating in arts audiences at rates well above their share of the population was, not surprisingly, individuals in the arts. Although artists, writers, and entertainers comprised only 1 percent of the employed work force in 1970, in eight audiences for which findings were reported they accounted for a median 8.2 percent. A

fraction of the high ratio may stem from dubious sampling procedures, a possible tendency for researchers coding handwritten occupation responses to report artists as a separate category if they were particularly numerous, and the temptation for some students and amateurs to report an avocation as an occupation.

Managerial. The managerial category in the United States census covers a range of managers and administrators, including executives, government officials, sales managers, school and hospital administrators, union officials, and small businessmen. The categories used in the audience studies included under the managerial rubric in this analysis include executives, managers, business, and proprietors. As noted earlier, the "business" category may include some clerical/sales employees and exclude some public administrators. Similarly the "executive" category may exclude some proprietors and low-level managers. Nonetheless, it is assumed that these categories are roughly equivalent.

Managerial employees were found to participate in arts audiences in greater proportions than their share of the population, but to a lesser extent than professionals. They composed 15 percent of employed respondents in the median of fifty-one arts audiences for which managerial percentages were reported, but only 11 percent of the employed work force in 1975. Their median proportion of performing-arts audiences (16 percent) was higher than their share of museum visitors (9 percent and 10 percent for art and other museums, respectively). One study which did report findings for both the live performing arts and museums, however, found consistently higher percentages of "executives" in performing-arts audiences than in museums

(#63). However, since the number of museum audiences reporting this category is small and the percentage range within the museum and the performing-arts studies are high, not too much should be made of this difference.

Professional/managerial. A number of studies merged professionals and managers into a single category. In order to use this information, we joined the professional and managerial categories in other studies and pooled them with studies reporting only "professional/managerial" percentages. "Professional/managerial" percentages may be taken as a rough index of the representation of individuals in high-status occupations in the audiences surveyed.

Among employed respondents, the median percentage of professional/managerial workers in seventy-seven arts audiences for which data were available was 69.5 percent, more than double this group's fraction of the employed work force as a whole (25.5 percent). As with professionals alone, there was some disparity between art-museum and other museum visitors. The managerial/professional percentage for art museums was 77.1 percent, even higher than for any of the performing arts, while the percentage for other museums was 53.2 percent, lower than for any art form. Median percentages reported for the performing arts ranged from 69.5 percent for theater to 75.5 percent for classical music.

Clerical/sales. The clerical/sales category includes, among others, office workers, secretaries, sales clerks, advertising, real estate, stock and bond sales workers, and telephone operators. However, some schemes specified that secretaries were included but others did not. Residual "white-collar" categories were excluded from this analysis except in a very

few cases where "white-collar" unambiguously included only clerical/sales employees. Since a number of occupations classified as clerical/sales by the census—for instance, bill collectors, mailmen, and teachers' aides—are somewhat anomalous, there may have been some slight attrition from this category into business, blue-collar, or service categories in some studies.

If managers were present in numbers slightly higher than their share of the population, clerical and sales personnel composed a somewhat smaller percentage of audiences than their share of the employed civilian work force. Their share of employed respondents in the median arts audience (of the forty-one for which data were available) was 15 percent, while they constitute 24 percent of the full employed civilian work force. The median for the performing arts (18 percent) was slightly higher than for museums (14 percent), with ranges of 8 to 33 percent and 5 to 28 percent, respectively. Clerical/sales personnel participated most strongly in theater audiences, with a median of 20 percent and a range of 8 to 29 percent.

Blue-collar workers. Along with the extremely high proportions of professionals reported, the most striking finding in the studies reviewed was the consistently low percentages of blue-collar workers in the audiences surveyed relative to their share of the population. In the seventy-one audiences for which data were available, blue-collar workers comprised a median 4 percent of employed work force as a whole. That the median is even this high is partly due to the inclusion of 19 "other museum" audiences, which reported a much higher median blue-collar participation (17 percent). The median blue-collar share of performing-arts audiences was only 2.8 percent and blue-collar representation among art-museum visitors was a median 3.1 percent. Excluding visitors to museums other than art museums, the proportion

of blue-collar workers in thirty-four of fifty-two arts audiences for which percentages were reported was less than one tenth of their representation in the work force as a whole. In only nine audiences was it as high as two-fifths. Among art forms, median blue-collar percentages were remarkably consistent: 2.7 percent for ballet and dance; 2.8 percent for opera; 2.9 percent for theater; and 3.1 percent for art museums.

Remarkably, blue-collar attendance is, if anything, probably overstated. Blue-collar workers include individuals in the skilled trades (carpenters, shoemakers, television repairmen), factory workers, laborers, and some transportation workers (including bus, taxi, and truck drivers and parking attendants). Holders of a number of other low-status jobs (chambermaids, janitors, busboys, dishwashers, bootblacks, elevator operators, etc.) are classified in a separate "service" category. However, information on the percentage of service employees was available for only eleven of the seventy-one audiences that reported a blue-collar percentage. (Since the service category also contains a number of relatively high-status workers like stewardesses, sheriffs, daycare workers, and detectives, blue-collar and service categories could not be merged.) It seems likely that, in studies where percentages of service workers were not reported, individuals in the service category (1.7 to 20.3 percent of audiences where reported, with a median of 3.7 percent) were divided between "blue-collar" and residual white-collar categories, thus giving some upward bias to each.

Homemakers. The median percentage of homemakers in seventy-eight audiences for which appropriate information was available was 14. While home-

makers were thus statistically underrepresented—they comprised 23 percent of the over-sixteen civilian population in 1975—variation among audiences was great, ranging from 5 percent to 52 percent for the audiences as a whole. The median percentage for the performing arts, 14 (with a range of 5 to 52), was very similar to that for all museums, 15 (range of 6 to 26). The median percentage for art museums, 13, was somewhat lower than for other museums, 16 percent, but the ranges were similar (7 to 22 percent and 6 to 26 percent respectively). The ballet/dance audiences analyzed had the lowest median percentage of homemakers (11) and the classical music audiences the highest (19), but again ranges were similar (6 to 32 and 5 to 26 respectively). Theater audiences (median percentage 14) and opera audiences (median percentage 16) fell in between.

Students. Students participated in the arts audiences surveyed to a high degree, composing 18 percent of the average of eighty audiences for which data were available and only 6 percent of the over-sixteen civilian population as a whole. Most of the students were enrolled in college; the only surveys reporting appreciable numbers of respondents less than sixteen years old were from museums other than art museums, and their median is not much higher than that for the audiences as a whole. The high percentages of attenders who are students is largely the result of a proclivity of college students to attend cultural events, but may also be a measure of the success of cultural organizations in attracting students via special discounts and other incentives.

As with homemakers, the proportion of students varied widely from audience to audience, with a range of from 0 percent to 63 percent. The

median for the performing-arts audiences was 17, with a range of from 5 to 63 percent (the latter was for an audience of a student theatrical production [#127]); for museums the median was a somewhat higher 22 percent, with a range from 0 percent (found in one study of members only [#181]) to 57 percent. Art museums reported a slightly higher student median than other museums (23 percent and 20 percent, respectively). Among the performing arts, median student percentages ranged from 11 for opera (with a range of 7 to 23) to 19 for theater (with a range of 5 to 63). The median percentage for classical-music audiences was 18 and for ballet and dance it was 15.

Retired and unemployed. The median percentage of retired and unemployed persons in sixty-five audiences for the arts with appropriate data was 5 percent, as compared to 11 percent of the civilian over-sixteen popu- in 1975. This figure would seem to reflect the relative immobility and often severe financial deprivation of individuals in both groups, as well as their relatively low educational attainment. Percentages did not differ greatly among art forms. Museums had a median percentage of retired/unemployed of 5, with a range of from 1 to 21. For the performing arts the median was 4 percent, with a range of from 0 to 16. The median for ballet and dance was 3 and for theater 4.

In most cases, audience studies whose findings were used in this analysis presented data on both categories or on a category including both. In some cases, percentages of retired persons alone were included in this analysis, since the representation of the unemployed, where listed separately, was consistently minuscule. Downward bias may result from a possible tendency for individuals who are unemployed, underemployed, retired or semi-retired to report their regular occupations.

Summary. Audiences for museums and the live performing arts were found to include substantially more individuals in high-prestige occupations than the public at large. The two most striking findings in the materials analyzed were the extremely high proportions of professionals, above all teachers, and the extraordinarily low percentages of blue-collar workers in live performing-arts audiences and among museum visitors. Variation among art forms was relatively minor, with two exceptions. First, museums reported a less heavily professional public than the live performing arts. Second, blue-collar workers composed a far higher percentage of the public in non-art-museum visitor populations than in any other art form. Several other findings are also notable. Managers were slightly overrepresented relative to their share of the population in performing-arts audiences but not among museum visitors. Clerical/sales personnel were statistically somewhat underrepresented in audiences for all the art forms, as were homemakers. Students were greatly overrepresented relative to their proportion of the public at large, although their participation varied considerably from audience to audience, and the retired and unemployed composed consistently small percentages of audiences for all art forms.

INCOME

The notion that the audience for the arts is composed of an economic elite is a familiar one. A study of the Minneapolis Symphony (#65) describes the popular stereotype of the symphony audience as one of "extreme wealth, snobbery, 'our orchestra,' and long gowns and white ties and tails." While snobbery and long gowns have not yet been quantified, surveys have repeatedly reported that museum and live performing-arts audiences have considerably higher median incomes than the population at large. Baumol and Bowen (#8) found that the median family income of the performing-arts audience was roughly twice as high as the median for the total urban population, and the National Research Center of the Arts (#137) reported that people with household incomes over 15,000 dollars attended the arts more than twice as often as those with incomes below 15,000 dollars.

The relative affluence of the arts audience has become an increasingly important issue as arts organizations have sought government support, since some observers have warned that it is difficult to justify public funding of the arts if the audience is composed of a small and well-to-do segment of the population. While audience income statistics may not prove particularly valuable for soliciting state backing, they may be more useful for internal administrative considerations, such as estimating the price-sensitivity of the present audience, the level of contributions the audience is capable of giving, and the participation of various income groups in the audience. However, it must be kept in mind that although income may be

associated with arts attendance, it is not necessarily the cause of attendance. High income is also correlated with having received a higher education and holding professional or managerial occupations, and some evidence suggests that it is these latter factors rather than income that determines attendance. When income, education, and occupation are all taken into account at the same time, it is found that education and occupation predict attendance but that income does not, once education and occupation are controlled (#115; Gruenberg, 1975). Thus, the underrepresentation of the nonaffluent is less the result of their lower disposable income than of their lower education and attainment and their membership in less prestigeful occupational communities.

Income-distribution data were available on eighty-eight audiences for museums and the live performing arts. Two steps were necessary to make the data comparable. First, virtually all studies reported income statistics by indicating the proportions of the respondents falling in various income ranges. For comparability, these range figures were converted to median incomes for each audience. Second, since the studies analyzed were conducted over a fifteen-year period, it was necessary to convert income figures into constant income levels; accordingly, the consumer price index was used to transform all medians into constant mid-1976 dollars.

Several additional problems should be kept in mind when interpreting these income figures. Personal income is generally regarded as sensitive information, and income data solicited through questionnaire or interview procedures is more prone to distortion and nonresponse than any other social

characteristic considered here (the nonresponse rate for income questions ranged as high as 29 percent). Moreover, some studies requested family income, others sought household income, and still others failed to specify either (which in some instances was probably interpreted as a request for individual income). This may introduce some downward bias; while studies requesting household- and family-income data yielded nearly identical median incomes, surveys specifying neither obtained median incomes which were on the average $2,591 below those eliciting household income. No reliable procedure was available for adjusting these differences. Finally, median real family incomes for the population as a whole increased considerably in the 1960s and modestly in the 1970s; median family income in constant 1976 dollars was $10,778 in 1960, $14,431 in 1970, and $14,476 in 1975. An audience with a median family income of $14,500 in 1976 dollars would be considered relatively affluent were the study conducted in 1960 but fairly representative of the public were the survey completed in 1975. More than two-thirds of the studies reporting income data were conducted during the 1970s, and thus a figure of approximately $14,000 for median family income serves as a useful baseline for comparison with the audience-study findings.

Consistent with the conventional belief that the performing arts draw an upper-income audience, the median income for seventy performing-arts audiences was $18,983, approximately $5,000 above that of the entire public (Table 2.6). However, eighteen of the performing-arts surveys were conducted by the Institute of Outdoor Drama. The outdoor dramas surveyed—most of which had religious or patriotic themes—tended to attract a more diverse audience, and indeed the median-income figure for these studies was

Table 2.6

Median Income[1] by Audiences, by Art Form

Art form	Median of medians	Range of median	(N)
All museums	17,158	13,394-30,618	(18)
Art museums	18,148	14,016-30,618	(10)
History museums	16,757	13,394-29,005	(3)
Science museums	17,269	14,765-20,851	(5)
All performing arts	18.903	9,466-28,027	(70)
Ballet and dance	20,082	16,452-22,404	(10)
Theater			
Excluding outdoor drama	19,342	9,469-25,784	(27)
Including outdoor drama	16,819	9,466-25,784	(45)
Orchestra	20,825	18,221-28,027	(11)
Opera	21,024	19,017-27,245	(5)

Median family income, U. S. population

1960	10,778
1970	14,431
1975	14,476

[1]In constant mid-1976 dollars.

$15,249; the median income for the performing-arts studies without the outdoor surveys was, by contrast, $20,250. The gap between the population and performing-arts-audience median incomes was somewhat less than that observed by Baumol and Bowen (1966), probably reflecting the greater diversity of audiences surveyed in the studies reviewed here. Baumol and Bowen, for instance, did not include as many university or outdoor performances in their study, and the lowest median incomes are consistently reported for these types of audiences.

The performing arts studies reported median audience incomes that ranged from $9,466 to $28,027, indicating considerable diversity in audience composition from event to event. Nonetheless, nearly all of the assembled studies found median incomes above that of the general population. Excluding the eighteen outdoor-drama surveys, only three of twenty-seven theater-audience studies reported median incomes below that of the public at large, and all three of these were of university-theater productions. No study of the other performing-art forms yielded median incomes below that of the general population; the minimum median incomes reported for ballet, orchestral music, and opera were approximately $2,000, $4,000, and $5,000 higher than the population median. If outdoor-drama studies are excluded, the major performing-art forms appear to draw markedly similar audiences; the theater median is $19,342 and the opera median is $21,024, with ballet and orchestral music in between.

As has been previously observed in the case of both education and occupation, museums attract a somewhat more representative cross-section of the American public. The eighteen museum studies reporting income

yielded a median income figure of $17,158, several thousand dollars below the performing-arts average though still also several thousand dollars above the general population figure. (Only a single museum study found a median income below that of the general public.) Among the many factors that may account for this difference are the generally lower admissions charged by museums and the greater appeal of museums for students and young people. Though relatively few studies are available on the separate museum types, as in the cases of occupation and education, art museums were found to draw a somewhat more affluent clientele than science or history museums.

RACE AND ETHNICITY

The relative paucity of Blacks and other racial and ethnic minorities in arts audiences has been commented on frequently and, indeed, has been a matter of some concern to the arts community. In 1972, the American Association of Museums called attention to the problem of making museums relevant and hospitable to inner-city and minority people, noting that the movements of the middle class to the suburbs and of Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans to the core city "have left the museum, an urban institution, to some extent a beached whale...." (American Association of Museums, 1972: 6). Museums have not been alone in recognizing this dilemma. Recently, the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts formed a special committee to find out why so few of Washington's many Black residents were attending the Center's events.

Minorities were, indeed, underrepresented in most of the relatively few audiences for which data on race were acquired. While Blacks constituted 12.3 percent of the total urban population in 1970, they represented a median 3 percent of the fifteen arts audiences for which data were available. Minorities—Blacks, Orientals, and persons of Spanish origin—accounted for a median 7 percent of the 35 audiences for which figures were reported, as opposed to over 20 percent of the population as a whole. In a number of studies outside the west coast and southwest, individuals of Spanish origin were not separated from the white population, thus depressing the minority total. We surmise, however, from the few studies in these areas that did

count Hispanic people separately, that they generally account for a small percentage of the audience and that their exclusion depresses the minority median by no more than 1 percent. The median minority percentage for thirteen audiences for the performing arts was 7, and for 11 sets of art-museum visitors it was 7 as well. As with other socioeconomic dimensions, visitor populations of museums other than art museums were more inclusive--for eleven sets of visitors to such museums the median minority percentage is 11.

Such overall figures should be interpreted cautiously because of the small number of audiences studied, variation in the definition of minority and, above all, the large variation in the proportion of members of different minority groups in different locales. The set of studies reviewed here, for example, contains data from Washington, D.C., where Blacks composed 24.6 percent of the population in 1970 and from Washington State, where only just over one in fifty persons was Black. Similarly, persons of Spanish origin represent a substantial portion of the populations of Los Angeles and New York City (15.0 and 11.1 percent, respectively), but are a much less significant presence in such places as Boston or Montgomery, Alabama. For this reason, selected comparisons are useful.

In fourteen audiences for which there were data on Black attenders and comparable census data, Blacks were underrepresented relative to their numbers in the local population in thirteen, by ratios of up to eighteen-to-one. In five studies of museums in the San Francisco area, where Blacks composed 10.6 percent of the metropolitan population in 1970, the highest Black proportion was only 3 percent (#111, #193, #194, #195, #265). In two New York City audiences (#94 and #203), Blacks represented 3 and 4 percent of attenders, in contrast to over 16 percent of the metropolitan population.

In two studies of attendance at two of the Smithsonian museums (#110 and #265), visitors were 9 and 5 percent Black. (The Washington metropolitan area is 24.6 percent Black.) Data on audiences in the South differed little from other sections of the country. In Joffrey Ballet audiences in three southern cities, Blacks were underrepresented in audiences by ratios of from three-to-one to thirteen-to-one (#38), relative to their share of local metropolitan populations. "Nonwhites" (presumably almost all Blacks) composed a rather sizeable 19 percent of visitors to a Montgomery, Alabama, art museum; but the metropolitan Black population in that area is 34.4 percent. Only among summer visitors of a Boston art museum (#17) were Blacks represented in proportion to their number in the metropolitan population at large. Finally, nonwhites constituted a relatively high 16 percent of New York City theatergoers in one study (#73).

It should be noted that for many institutions a large portion of the visitor population consists of tourists from outside the relevant SMSA. Out-of-town visitors have been found to compose between 22 and 30 percent of visitors to the Metropolitan Museum in New York (#3; #16); between 12 and 55 percent of visitors to New York's Whitney Museum and the Museum of Modern Art; and between 2 and 10 percent of visitors to museums in Newark and Brooklyn (#16). (These figures vary by day of week.) Percentages of out-of-SMSA visitors to Baltimore museums and performing-arts institutions range from 2 to 14 percent (Cwi and Lyall, 1977). A strict comparison would have to take these figures into account.

Individuals of Spanish origin appear to have similarly low participation rates, although here the pattern is less clear. They ranged from 0.8 to 3.2 percent of four sets of San Francisco museum visitors, while they constitute 7.4 percent of the metropolitan population. Only 8 percent of the San Antonio Joffrey audience (#138) and 5 percent of American Museum of Natural History visitors (#203) were found to be Spanish-speaking, but 37.5 and 11.1 percent of San Antonio and New York City residents, respectively, were of Sapnish origin in 1970. The most anomalous findings on Hispanic attendance at the arts appeared in a survey of performing-arts attenders and museum visitors in Washington State (#63), where Spanish-speaking people composed from 5 percent of dance audiences to 12 percent of history-museum visitors, even though less than 2 percent of the state's population is of Spanish origin. If we assume that the findings are not the result of unique methodological aspects of the study, the high rate of Hispanic arts attendance in Washington State is remarkable indeed and deserves further study.

Information about minority attendance habits can also be gleaned from six cross-sectional studies undertaken by the National Research Center of the Arts. These surveys—two national, one of New York State, one of California, one of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and one of the New York Borough of Queens—asked respondents if they had attended each of several kinds of arts performances and museums in the previous twelve months. Relative responses of whites and nonwhites varied widely from place to place and time to time. In New York State, virtually equal percentages of whites and nonwhites reported attendance in every category

except "concert or opera," in which whites held a 36 to 23 percent advantage (#39). In Queens, slightly higher percentages of whites attended theater and classical-music performances, but slightly more nonwhites attended dance (#190). In Winston-Salem a higher percentage of whites than nonwhites reported attending all the performing arts (#201). In California, reported white attendance was higher than Black and Spanish-speaking reported attendance for theater, classical music, art museums, and science and natural history museums, but a substantially higher percentage of Blacks reported attendance at dance events. Spanish-speaking respondents indicated less attendance than Blacks or non-Spanish-speaking whites at all the performing arts, but reported attending museums more than Blacks (#42). Consistent with the California results, a cross-sectional survey of Amarillo residents' attitudes found Black respondents relatively more enthusiastic about classical music and Hispanic respondents relatively more strongly preferring the visual arts to theater, classical music, or dance. The two national surveys are rather perplexing for although the second was a replication of the first and found rather similar rates of attendance among whites, attendance by nonwhites was sharply lower in the second. The first survey, undertaken in 1973, showed roughly equal attendance at all the arts except for theater, where more whites reported attendance, and dance, where greater attendance was reported by nonwhites (#7). In the 1975 replication, however, white reported attendance substantially exceeded nonwhite in every category, with nonwhite reported attendance dropping from 48 to 18 percent for science and natural history museums, from 50 to 24 percent for art museums, and from 44 to 23 percent for theater (#137).

Although most of the cross-sectional surveys do show relatively small disparities between the attendance behavior of whites and minorities, their findings must be interpreted cautiously. Information based on people's recollection is obviously considerably less reliable than information obtained from people at actual arts events, and cross-sectional study respondents may often define attendance in idiosyncratic ways. The results of these and other differences can be seen when the findings of a cross-sectional study of New York State residents is compared with the results of a statewide New York survey of individuals actually attending arts performances. Although nonwhites reported slightly higher attendance rates than whites for theater, ballet and dance, and museums in the cross-sectional survey, nonwhites were consistently underrepresented in the actual audiences. This underrepresentation may reflect greater overreporting by nonwhite respondents; peculiarities of sampling; disproportionate attendance by nonwhites at events excluded from the actual audience surveys; a tendency for many whites to attend very frequently while many nonwhites attend only once or twice a year; or some combination of the above.

While the existing data does not permit a definitive assessment—for example, no surveys of museums or performing-arts companies appealing predominantly to minority-group members were available—it seems likely that Blacks and other minorities are generally underrepresented in performing-arts audiences and among museum visitors, relative to their share of the population. Since a higher percentage of minorities than whites are very young, poor, without college educations, and/or employed in blue-collar or service occupations—all categories with disproportionately low participation in arts audiences—this is not in itself surprising. In 1975, 34.4

percent of the Black population, and only 26.1 percent of the white population, was under the age of sixteen. The median income for white families in 1975 was $14,268, compared to a median of $8,779 for Black families. Similarly, 63.2 percent of Black civilian employed persons were blue-collar or service workers, as compared to 44.3 percent for whites. And the average Black person twenty-five years of age or older had completed 10.9 years of schooling, compared to a white median of 12.4. Although existing data do not permit an assessment, it is likely that poverty and lack of education, rather than cultural factors or racial exclusion, are responsible for the low level of minority arts attendance. Only one audience or visitor study (#193) reported educational attainment by race. This study found that the percentage of Black visitors who were college graduates was even higher (by a few percentage points) than the comparable figure for white college-graduate visitors. Where data permits, further analysis should be performed to assess attendance rates by whites, Blacks, and Hispanic persons of equal educational attainment and comparable occupational and income levels.

SUMMARY

The studies in our sample indicate consistently that the audience for the arts is more well-educated, of higher occupational status and higher income than the population as a whole. Only one study out of 97 found that the proportion of the audience with a college education was lower than the population at large. Every one of the 65 studies which reported occupation found that the audience was composed of a substantially greater proportion of professionals than the general population and only four of 76 studies found that the median income of the audience was lower than the median income of the population at large.

Although women were somewhat overrepresented in the arts audience, the gender ratio varied extensively and one quarter of the performing arts audiences in our sample and two-fifths of the museum-visitor populations were composed of more men than women. The median age of the arts audience was close to the median age of the population at large but varied widely from audience to audience. The few studies which examined the racial or ethnic composition of audiences indicate that minorities were present in proportions smaller than their share of relevant metropolitan populations.

All of the variables studied showed considerable variation from audience to audience. Some of this variation can be attributed to the differing methodologies; response categories, methods of sampling and presentation of results varied considerably from study to study. Some of the variation may stem from changes within an audience. Certain characteristics of audiences were found to vary by season, time of performance (day of week, time

of day, etc.) and the particular content of the performance or exhibit. One final source of variation is that the composition of the audience appears to differ slightly for different art forms.

Museum-visitor populations were somewhat more representative of the American public than were the performing-arts audiences surveyed. The museum surveys found smaller proportions of professionals and the well-educated had lower median incomes than did studies of performing-arts audiences. Some of the differences found between the museum-visitor population and performing-arts audiences may be attributable to the lower median age of the museum visitor. There were some differences between the visitors to the various kinds of museums. The art museum visitor population was better educated, wealthier, older and composed of more professionals than visitors to history, science, or other museums. Among the performing arts, theater audiences were somewhat less well-educated, less wealthy and composed of a smaller proportion of professionals than audiences for the other performing-art forms.

ADDITIONAL ISSUES IN AUDIENCE RESEARCH

The profile of the audience presented above leaves several questions unaddressed. In this section we will attempt to discern changes in the composition of arts audiences over time to determine if the "reach" of museums and the live performing arts has become broader, narrower, or remained the same. We shall also explore the differences between frequent attenders and infrequent attenders and evaluate the evidence on audience overlap among art forms. To what extent does each art form have its own devoted following and to what extent is it correct to speak of one "arts audience"? Finally, we will examine two important genres of audience research that do not deal with demographic composition. We will, first, assess studies of the economic impact of spending by arts audiences on local economies and, second, examine the findings of surveys of public attitudes towards government subventions to the arts.

THE ARTS AUDIENCE OVER TIME

Since the 1960s, individuals concerned with the arts have lamented the relative narrowness of arts audiences in the United States and have stressed the importance of attracting a broader public. The social composition of the audience can influence the type of art produced and the financial viability of an institution. And it has been argued that the arts can enrich the quality of American life and should be available to all sectors of the public. Many art organizations have attempted over the past fifteen years to broaden their audience, and some have met with success. But many have not, and others have made no effort.

To examine whether the American audiences for live performing arts have been progressively democratized over the past seventeen years, we have evaluated overall trends in five major indicators of audience composition--gender, age, education, occupation, and income. Since we review few studies completed during certain years over this period, particularly during the 1960s, the surveys in many instances have been grouped together for a several year span to provide a more stable estimate of audience composition. Studies have been grouped so that at least six audience studies are included within each time period (with the exception of one period for the data on education). Futhermore, because of the relatively small number of museum studies available for some of the periods, the analysis is limited to performing arts studies only. It should be cautioned that the pre-1965 studies include a number conducted by Baumol and Bowen (between eight and thirteen, depending on the social characteristic). As we have already noted, these studies yielded social profiles that were significantly more elite than those

found by most other audience surveys. Since relatively few other early studies are available, these surveys dominate the mid- and early 1960s audience composition figures, and this should be kept in mind in examining trends based on this period.

Gender. The proportion of men in the performing-arts audience evidences little change over time, though there is a slight drop in recent years (Table 2.7). Excluding the earliest period examined (pre-1966), the median percentages of men in the five successive periods between 1966 and 1976 are 46, 42, 45, 37, and 39. However, in all periods except one (1974-1975) the percentage of men varies from the low 30s to the low 50s, indicating that there is far more variation in gender composition from event to event than between time periods.

Age. There is no indication of any trend toward younger audiences. The median ages of audiences in six successive periods since 1967 are 36, 41, 30, 36, 38, and 33. Within the time periods the median ages reported by studies ranged by 8 to 24 years.

Education. The proportion of the performing arts audience with at least a college education evidences no decline over time. The fourteen studies in the earliest time period examined (1960-1966) report a median figure of 72 percent for the college educated, the fifteen studies of the following period (1967-1972) indicate a median percentage of 47, and the surveys conducted in the four one-year periods since then report median percentages of 63, 67, 57, and 65. While the education level appears to fluctuate considerably between the first three time periods, much if not most of the change reflects special features of the studies conducted during these periods. Thirteen of fourteen pre-1967 studies were executed by Baumol

Table 2.7

Time Trends in the Gender, Age, Education, Occupation and Income Composition of Performing Arts Audiences

Social character and time period	Median	Range of median	(N)
Gender: percent men			
1960-65	56	45-58	(10)
1966-69	46	32-54	(7)
1970-71	42	36-51	(11)
1972-73	45	33-54	(11)
1974-75	37	35-43	(9)
1976	39	34-54	(13)
Age: median age			
1960-67	37	33-45	(9)
1968-70	36	24-46	(6)
1971-72	41	34-42	(8)
1973	30	21-35	(11)
1974	36	22-43	(8)
1975	38	25-48	(12)
1976	33	21-45	(18)
Education: percent with college degree or more			
1960-66	72	61-86	(14)
1967-72	47	21-66	(15)
1973	63	55-65	(6)
1974	67	54-74	(4)
1975	57	48-65	(7)
1976	65	34-76	(13)
Occupation:			
percent professional/technical			
1960-69	65	48-80	(11)
1970-74	57	50-63	(10)
1975-76	59	24-73	(20)
percent blue-collar worker			
1960-69	2.4	1-5	(8)
1970-74	2.8	0-5	(14)
1975-76	3.0	1-7	(11)
Income: 1976 dollars			
1960-67	23,407	19,342-28,027	(11)
1967-70	19,017	16,819-25,229	(10)
1971-73	19,684	9,466-27,245	(12)
1974-75	18,983	15,292-23,202	(7)
1976	20,004	14,003-21,004	(11)

and Bowen, while seven of fifteen studies during the 1967-1972 period were conducted on audiences of university productions. (None of the post-1972 studies were of campus audiences.)

Occupation. Using two indices of the occupational composition of performing arts audiences—the percentages of professional/technical workers and blue-collar workers—it is evident that little change has occurred over the past seventeen years. Professionals and managers constituted 65 percent of the audience in the 1960s, 57 percent during the 1970-1974 period, and 59 percent in 1975-1976; the blue-collar shares of the audience were 2.4, 2.8, and 3.0 percent, respectively.

Income. Income trends mirror those reported for the other social indicators. The median of the median audience income for the 1967-1970 period was $19,017 (in constant mid-1976 dollars). For the three following periods the median income stood at $19,684, $18,983, and $20,004, respectively. The average income for 1960-1967 was recorded at $23,407, but again this is almost entirely based on the Baumol and Bowen surveys of prominent performing arts audiences. It is again notable that the median incomes reported for audience studies conducted within a time period vary far more than do the averages between the periods.

Our data do not reveal any striking changes in the composition of the audience over the past one and one-half decades. It should be cautioned, however, that the heterogeneity of the audience studies evaluated here may have concealed various subtler trends. For example, if audiences for one art form were becoming increasingly male while audiences for another were including greater percentages of women, such a change would not be

discernable in our data. Similarly, if theater audiences in major cities were becoming more diverse, while theater audiences in smaller cities and suburbs were becoming less so, no change would be observed. Moreover, any changes in the audience of particular organizations or sectors would not be reflected in the aggregate figures we have considered. It is possible, for instance, that the audience for professional dance companies—or any other art form—is undergoing a significant broadening while the audience for certain other arts forms is remaining stable or even narrowing. Another way to examine time trends, and one which eliminates problems emanating from the aggregation of studies of diverse institutions, is to compare studies of the same arts organization which have been conducted at different times. In twenty-nine cases we have multiple studies of an organization's audience. However, the research methodologies were usually so different between the studies that meaningful comparison could be made in very few instances. One would expect some change in research design from one study to the next, but the idea of obtaining comparable time-series data does not yet appear to have taken hold in the arts. The high turnover in arts managers in many institutions may partly account for this, as may the ad hoc nature of most audience research studies.

AUDIENCE STRUCTURE

In most audience studies, little attention is directed at a critical difference between audience members: some are veterans of many performances or visits, while others rarely visit and still others are in the audience for the first time. (Some are also there for the last time.) A national cross-sectional survey in 1975 reports that 47 percent of the public had attended at least one theater, classical music, or dance performance during the previous twelve months; 52 percent had visited a museum. Of these performing arts consumers, 62 percent had made one to five visits, while 38 percent had gone even more often; of the museum visitors, 58 percent frequented the museums five times or fewer, while 42 percent had visited more frequently (#137). Most audiences contain a mixture of regular and irregular arts consumers. For some purposes the relative proportions are of no special significance, but for other purposes there are important implications.

Growing total attendance can reflect an increase in the number of individuals drawn to the arts, an increase in the frequency of visits, or both. One organization experienced in audience research (Arts Development Associates) distinguishes between the "reach" and "frequency" of an audience. Reach describes the percentage of a community which attend an arts institution at least once during a one-year period, while frequency is the average number of visits made by attenders during the year (Morison and Fliehr, 1974). The ratio of audience reach to frequency can vary considerably from audience to audience. For instance, in one study of a park and

a theater in the park, it was found that the park's reach was 6.0 percent (6 percent of the area residents had visited the park during the past year), while the theater's reach was only 2.5 percent (#118). On the other hand, the frequency of the park-goer was 4.4 (of those ever attending during the previous year, each averaged a little more than four visits), but the frequency for the theater-patron was 5.4. In other words, the theater attracted a smaller number of individuals than the park, but it was a more committed clientele.

Reach is a good measure of an organization's breadth of appeal, while frequency signifies the extent to which the organization has cultivated a regular constituency. Though outreach programs are usually aimed at increasing the former, some may actually be largely affecting the latter. For example, one art museum developed a special exhibit designed, in part, to broaden the museum's appeal. However, a visitor study revealed that although attendance did significantly increase during the exhibit, much of the expansion was due to the return of regular visitors rather than the appearance of new first-time visitors (#135).

Studies involving more than a single type of arts organization typically reveal that frequent attenders of one type of institution also tend to be frequent attenders of other institutions. For example, an analysis of cultural consumers in California reveals that of infrequent museum visitors (one to five visits during the previous year), 47 percent had not attended a theater, classical music, or dance performance over the previous year and only 19 percent attended more than five times. By contrast, of frequent museum visitors (more than five times per year), only 24 percent had never

attended one of these performing arts and 47 percent had gone to more than five performances over the year (#42). There is even some evidence that frequent arts attenders tend to participate more heavily than infrequent arts consumers in all leisure pursuits, such as sporting events, movies, the circus, and creative activities (#'s 7, 39, 42, 190, 203). The habits of attenders of one art form differ from those of other audience groups. One study found, for instance, that 63 percent of respondents who had been to the theater during a twelve-month period had attended no other performing-arts event. By contrast, only 36 percent of symphony-goers, 25 percent of opera attenders, and 20 percent of ballet consumers had failed to attend at least one other type of performing-arts event in the past year (#115). There are various ways of measuring audience overlap, but however approached, the results tend to indicate that theater audiences are the least integrated with those of the other performing arts (#'s 8, 115). Also, there is some evidence that somewhat different groups frequent performing-arts events and museums (#42).

Despite some internal differences among attenders, the evidence nonetheless suggests that one major dimension differentiating the arts audience is a center-periphery continuum. At one end are those who frequently attend a variety of arts events, and at the other end are those who only occasionally sample a single event. Research indicates that those near the center constitute active arts social circles; friendship and acquaintanceships are formed around a shared interest in the arts, cultural events are central topics of informal discussion and exchange, and there is the expectation that attendance at, and knowledgeability of, the arts is high. Several

studies report that frequent attenders are more likely than infrequent visitors to hear about arts events through their social networks, to disproportionately count cultural consumers among their friends and to indicate that arts attendance is fashionable in their social milieu (#'s 7, 42, 64, 93).

The center of the arts audience is also distinguished from the periphery by its social character. Sixteen audience studies in our possession examined the relationship between frequency of attendance and education, and all sixteen found that regular visitors are more highly educated than irregular visitors for both museums and the performing arts. A cross-sectional study of Californians, for example, found that of those who had not visited a museum during the past year, 7 percent held a college degree or more; of the infrequent museum visitors (one to five times), 18 percent were college educated; and of the frequent visitors (more than five times), 31 percent held college degrees. The corresponding figures for the performing arts are 7, 18, and 43 percent, respectively (#42).

Those at the center of the arts audience also tend to have higher incomes than those at the periphery, though the evidence here is less clear-cut than for education. Thirteen of seventeen studies with relevant data report higher incomes for frequent attenders than for infrequent attenders, but one study revealed no difference and three indicated the reverse. In all three of the latter cases, the audiences were for ballet or dance. For example, a study that included ballet audiences in New York State found that median income for frequent attenders was $19,000, as compared to $19,400 for infrequent attenders (#73).

There is some evidence that income may have a stronger relationship with frequency of attendance for the performing arts than for museums. In one cross-sectional study, for example, the income gap between frequent and infrequent attenders is $2,900 for the performing arts but only $800 for museums (#42). Although museum admission charges are usually either cheaper than performing-arts tickets or nonexistent, we suspect this explains little of the difference in attender background. First, studies of visitors to museums before and after the institution of an admissions charge (Cameron and Abbey, 1962) or comparing "free" periods to times when admissions fees are charged (#17) have found little variation. Second, although some professional sports, rock concerts, and discotheques impose admissions fees comparable to those for the performing arts, such events, it would seem, often attract a considerably less "upscale" audience.

There was no decisive pattern for the gender and age composition of frequent versus infrequent visitors. Four studies indicated that frequent attenders had a higher proportion of men, six studies reported a lower proportion of men, and two studies found no difference. Similarly, six studies concluded that frequent attenders were older than infrequent viistors, three found the opposite, and two reported no age difference.

Since frequent attenders are more likely to be present in an audience for a specific performance or to be museum visitors on any given day, most audience studies are, strictly speaking, studies of those present rather than of visitors. As we have seen, regular arts consumers are generally more highly educated and somewhat wealthier than irregular consumers, and

thus social compositional statistics based on those present in particular audiences will tend to reveal a somewhat more affluent profile than if the statistics were based on all those who ever participate in arts audiences.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPACT

The precarious financial condition faced by many arts organizations and the growth of government interest in the arts have led to an intensified search for ways of justifying public support for these private institutions. Increasingly, audience research has provided the factual platform upon which public rationales for state support of the arts have been erected.

Audience surveys may prove of practical value for promoting public support in several ways. Social profiles can be used to demonstrate that a broad cross-section of the public is being reached by an arts organization and that therefore, by implication, the organization is performing a valuable quasi-public service. Another application of audience research to the acquisition of public backing is in the identification of secondary economic benefits of arts institutions for the local community. A third practical use is in demonstrating the educational value of exhibits and performances for attenders, thereby showing that the arts serve the traditionally publicly funded function of public education. Finally, attitude surveys of cross-sections of the public can be used to document widespread support for the arts, thus politically legitimating arts spending by funding agencies and legislative bodies.

While social profiles have been acquired in virtually all audience studies, few have examined the arts' secondary economic impact or public appeal. The following assessment of the findings of studies which do treat these issues, therefore, rests on a more tenuous base than our assessment of the far more extensively researched social-profile questions.

Economic impact. Studies of the local economic impact of the arts have not solely relied on audience survey methodologies. The direct and indirect consequences of an arts organization's payroll and purchases have been examined; efforts have been made to identify the largely uncompensated contributions of arts organizations to schools and other local institutions; and the effects of cultural resources on individual business firm decisions to locate in a community have been considered (see, for instance, #139; Arts, Education and Americans Panel, 1977).

Audience research is particularly well suited for answering still other types of economic impact questions: Are art institutions an important consideration in the decision of nonresidents to visit a city? How large are the non-arts expenditures during a visit to an arts institution? What sectors typically benefit from the infusion of the associated expenditures?

Nine audience studies in our possession, all except one conducted in the mid-1970s, addressed one or more of these issues. One study was based on a survey of a Boston commercial theater audience (#4); a second was a survey of New York commercial theater audiences (#37); another involved a study of visitors to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (#3); a fourth consisted of a survey of fourteen audiences of nonprofit performing arts events in Wisconsin (#29); a fifth and sixth were of performing arts and museum visitors in New York State (#73) and Washington State (#63); the seventh was based on a survey of visitors to seven major Chicago museums (#11); and two were surveys of audiences for a ballet company (#94, #138).

An effective methodology has not yet been developed for isolating the capacity of specific cultural institutions for drawing visitors to a com-

munity. As a result, these studies have relied on a technique which yields suggestive but not definitive information on this matter: art organization visitors are simply asked whether the presence of the institution was a major factor in their decision to visit the city. Thus, among the nonresident visitors to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (nonresidents comprised half of all visitors), four-fifths reported that they had planned to see the museum prior to their arrival in New York City. And of these, 24 percent indicated that their intention to see the museum was "a fairly important" reason for the trip and 58 percent affirmed that the visit was "a major" reason behind the trip. Comparable levels of museum drawing power were found in the Chicago study. Nonresidents were asked: "Was a visit to the museum or museums an important reason for your trip to the city?" Nearly 50 percent indicated it was the "main reason," and 85 percent attributed at least some importance to the seven museums in stimulating their travel plans. The number of city visitors who would not have come were the museums unavailable cannot be fixed with any precision using these figures, but it is clear that a substantial proportion are attracted to the city largely as "cultural tourists." Since cultural consumers tend to be highly affluent, the arts may be particularly effective in attracting those who are most likely to make substantial personal expenditures during their visit to the metropolitan area.

The visitors' expenditures on non-arts goods and services varied considerably. Patrons of the Boston theater spent $6.40 on the average; $5.00 to $14.00 were spent by persons attending ballet performances in several cities; New York State residents paid an average $7.80 for activities assoc-

iated with attendance of an arts event while nonresidents paid $14.[illegible] on the average: Washington residents spent $6.70 on the average in conjunction with attendance at a performing arts event; Wisconsin performing arts audiences paid $1.90 per person in attending one of fourteen surveyed events but spent $15.80 in attending another; nonresident visitors to Chicago museums spent $16.00 on the average; and out-of-town visitors to the Metropolitan Museum of Art typically disposed of $85.00 (a median figure). If these amounts are used to estimate total annual expenditures, the direct aggregate impact on the local economy is considerable. In Boston, visitors of the single theater alone contributed $3.9 million to the local non-arts economy during one poor season and $6.6 million during another season when attendance rates were higher (nonresidents were not distinguished from residents in this study, so only a fraction of these totals represent the infusion of outside capital). In Chicago, visitors of the seven museums contributed $76.5 million to the economy, and those passing through the single New York museum were responsible for approximately $187 million in expenditures annually. These figures only represent direct outlays, and there are additional indirect economic benefits as the money changes hands several additional times before entering savings or tax accounts. A multiplier of two is often used to estimate the recycling effects, and thus the combined direct and indirect economic impact may be as much as double the above figures.

Not surprisingly, virtually all of the spending is concentrated in the usual tourist industries of restaurants, retail stores, lodging, and transportation; the respective percentages of the total museum-related expenditures in the Chicago study, for instance, are 29, 27, 21, and 9. Thus, it is evident that certain sectors of the local economy benefit con-

siderably from purchases by cultural tourists. It remains to be demonstrated that the whole economy, the municipal government, and the local public also benefit from this sectoral economic impact. Neither has it been shown that the benefits outweigh any additional tax burden borne by local residents resulting from government underwriting of art-organization deficits. Nor has it been demonstrated that most of the money spent on activities associated with attending arts events would not have been spent in the absence of such events. Another important issue not yet addressed empirically is the local economic impact of public sponsorship of the arts relative to government investment in other areas or institutions.

Political impact. Although the economic benefits of government subsidization of the arts have not yet been decisively demonstrated, it appears nonetheless that public support for government intervention is already widespread. This conclusion emerges from ten studies we have assembled which acquired information on public attitudes toward government underwriting of the arts. Eight of the studies are cross-sectional surveys of the public (including two national studies), and the other two are of performing arts and museum visitors in two states. Nine of the studies have been conducted since 1973, and the tenth was executed in 1970. Seven of the inquiries were carried out by a single organization--the National Research Center of the Arts (#'s 7, 42, 63, 73, 93, 137, and 201; the others are #'s 62, 66, and 187).

Within certain regions of America, majorities or near majorities endorse the general principle that the government should help finance cultural organizations that are running deficits, with local intervention clearly preferred over federal involvement. Among California residents, for instance, 49 percent subscribe to the position that the federal government "should help arts

and cultural organizations in the area if they need financial support"; 60 percent endorse state government backing in this circumstance, and 63 percent back local government intervention (#42). Comparable patterns are recorded for the Winston-Salem (North Carolina) (#201) and Anchorage (Alaska) (#93) regions: the percentages supporting federal, state, and local government financing are 49, 60, and 64 in the former region and 47, 69, and 74 in the latter. In Boston, more than half (57 percent) of the city's residents favored expansion of a city-sponsored cultural program from a summer season to year-round basis (#62). And in Salt Lake City, a majority of the public (58 percent) would urge a greater allocation of the municipal budget to cultural events (#166).

Yet the apparently high levels of public support in these regions may be an artifact of the question-sensitive nature of this issue (though conceivably there could be regional pockets of high support for government involvement). When a national sample of the American public was asked in 1973 whether "cultural organizations [should] have to pay their own way, or should. . . be able to receive direct government funds to help support them," only 38 percent adopted the latter position, while 34 percent indicated that cultural organizations should rely on their own means and 28 percent reported that it depended on the circumstances or were undecided (#76). Even greater skepticism is evident when the issue is government support for artists rather than cultural organizations. Only 31 percent of the California public agreed that "professional artists should receive help from [the] California state government if they need financial assistance to continue their artistic professions" (#42), and in 1975 only 29 percent of the American public endorsed federal support for needy artists (31 percent

endorsed support by state or local government) (#137).

The level of public support for intervention varies widely according to the specific type of cultural organization involved, with museums faring far better than specific kinds of performing-arts organizations. Thus, while 38 percent of the general public in a 1973 survey agreed with the principle that "cultural organizations such as museums and symphony orchestras" should be eligible for government underwriting, far smaller proportions urged such eligibility for specific kinds of performing-arts organizations. Only 11 percent of the public would like to see opera receive public funds; the percentages for commercial theater, nonprofit theater, ballet and dance, and symphony orchestras stood at only 5, 12, 11, and 16, respectively. Government subsidization for museums, by contrast, drew far greater support. The percentages endorsing government support for art, science, and history museums were 41, 55, and 57, respectively (#7). There is some indication that the level of support has grown in recent years as government spending on behalf of cultural organizations has itself expanded. In a 1975 survey of the general American public, the percentages accepting the idea of local government support for opera had increased to 33, and for theater, ballet and dance, and symphony orchestras the percentages had grown to 38, 33, and 37 percent. Similarly, support for art, science, and history museums was now supported by 46, 64, and 64 percent of the public, respectively (#137).

The rank order of the level of public support for the various art forms closely parallels the degree to which the forms attract a socially elite audience: the more representative an art audience is of the general public, the more widespread is public support for government financing of the art form. This is hardly surprising, for one would expect individual

interest in government support for the arts to correspond to the individual's perceived benefits from the subsidization. And, indeed, it is found that belief in government support is strongest in those groups that would most directly benefit from government subsidy. Among those attending performing arts events and museums in the states of Washington and New York, over 80 percent felt that government assistance should be provided performing arts organizations and more than 90 percent felt that it should go to museums (#63; #73). Similarly, in cross-sectional surveys, two of the best predictors of individual willingness to endorse government involvement is the individual's educational level (already shown to be one of the best indicators of arts attendance) and whether the individual is an active arts consumer. In the 1973 national survey, 22 percent of those with an eighth-grade education agreed that the government should support cultural organizations, while 50 percent of the college-educated took this position; 20 percent of the nonattenders adopted this position, but 64 percent of the frequent attenders (those in the top decile of the attendance rate) shared the view that government subsidies for the arts were desirable (#7).

While large segments of the public agree in principle that government support for the arts is appropriate, it is less clear that these segments would give the arts a high priority were they confronted with concrete political choices. Some evidence indicates that a substantial part of the public is prepared to have the government intervene in at least a very modest fashion. In Anchorage, for instance, 71 percent of the residents assert that they would be willing to pay an additional $5.00 in local taxes to support community cultural activities (#201); 54 percent are so inclined in California (#42), and 58 percent of the 1975 national population would

be willing to undertake this nominal personal sacrifice (#137). A fivefold increase in the tax burden, however, results in many fewer supporters; 20 and 41 percent of the California and national respondents, respectively, would support a $25.00 increment in their taxes to underwrite the arts (#42; #137). Again, willingness to undertake this burden is highly correlated with whether the individual is a cultural consumer. However, it is also clear that the arts still rank far below other priorities for most of the public. When a national sample was asked in 1975 to evaluate the importance of various community services, the arts rated below health, transportation, education, law enforcement, housing, and recreational facilities. Similarly, when asked whether federal spending should be increased in a number of areas, respondents ranked the arts far below education, health, public transportation, and housing, with only defense and welfare spending rated significantly less preferable than that of the arts (#137).

It is evident from available audience research, then, that strong minorities of the public (and in some cases majorities) are in agreement with the general principle that the government should be involved in funding cultural organizations, though there is less support for direct funding of artists themselves. Support is strongest among those segments who stand to benefit most directly from increased government backing. However, while these audience studies yield suggestive results, they cannot be used to determine whether this public support for the arts is--or could be--mobilized in the political process. We do not know, for example, whether the arts lobby has a more willing public to mobilize on behalf of art spending than do other interest groups on behalf of other, competing priorities. Nor do we

know whether public attitudes toward government arts policies become translated into voter preferences during election campaigns.

CHAPTER 3: QUALITY AND IMPACT OF ARTS AUDIENCE STUDIES

Arts institutions and organizations concerned with the arts have already undertaken a great many studies of arts audiences, and the tempo of such research appears to be increasing. Arts managers and policy makers have studied audiences in order to assess public attitudes towards the arts, determine the composition of the public that particular institutions serve, inform decisions on prices and hours, provide baseline data for market development programs, and estimate the impact of arts activities on local and state economies.

Such research has been greeted with a combination of skepticism and enthusiasm. An increasing segment of the arts community seems to feel that institutions "in need of practical advice miss a gold mine of wisdom by neglecting to survey their audiences" (Wainwright, 1973). Others, however, have asserted that most research is of trivial importance, an expensive way of finding out what is already known.

Has the audience research enterprise been of value to the arts? To answer this question we must know two things. First, has the technical quality of audience studies been sufficiently high to provide information that, if acted upon, will permit managers and policy makers to predict, with accuracy, the impact of their decisions? Second, has the research been planned and communicated in such a way that the individuals responsible will be willing and able to use its results? Research can be of the highest technical quality, but if it does not lead to recommendations that decision makers have power to implement, it will not be useful.

Similarly, research may provide data directly relevant to pressing decisions; but if the research is shoddily executed, decisions that use it may have disastrous consequences.

The purpose of this chapter is to discover those factors that have been most closely related to technical quality and policy utility of arts audience research. Our strategy has been to rate the quality and utility of each of a set of eighty-six studies of arts audiences and to ascertain the relationship between certain characteristics of the studies and their scores on the quality and utility scales. Organizations that consider sponsoring or undertaking audience research may use these findings as guidelines against which to measure their own assumptions about such issues as what kind of research to do, whether to do research in-house or contract out, what kind of researcher to hire, and how much to spend.

THE ARTS AUDIENCE SURVEY

Our study is based upon an intensive examination of reports from eighty-six studies of arts audiences and completed surveys from the directors of these studies. For the purposes of this study arts audiences include those individuals who 1) visit museums including art, history, science, and general-interest museums; or 2) attend performing-arts events, including ballet, dance, jazz, folk and ethnic music, chamber and orchestral music, theater, and opera. Arts audience studies also include cross-sectional surveys of local or national populations designed to acquire information on respondents' exposure to and/or attitudes toward the arts. Most of these studies employ traditional survey techniques, although some studies use quasi-experimental designs (Campbell and Stanley, 1966). These studies were undertaken to provide information for a variety of purposes, ranging from fund-raising, audience expansion, and marketing to facilities planning, setting ticket prices and legislative lobbying.

Study-acquisition procedures were described in Chapter Two. Within three months, these procedures had yielded 165 audience studies conducted since 1961. Of the initial 165 studies, 127 had been undertaken since 1970. This set constitutes the subject of this chapter's inquiry. Studies conducted before 1970 were excluded on the grounds that study directors would find it difficult to recall essential procedural details of their research. We estimate that at least 400 audience studies have been conducted since 1970; the 127 located for this inquiry can be assumed to be reasonably representative of the full population. Some bias towards more recent

studies and toward studies of above average quality and utility may have resulted from the procedures used to obtain these studies.

Two types of information were compiled. First, each study report was coded by two raters on a variety of quality dimensions. Second, a twelve-page survey form was sent to directors of 112 studies. (Fifteen study directors could not be located or were deceased.) After a second mailing and several telephone contacts, usable forms were received from eighty-six of the directors, for a response rate of 77 percent. The study audiences were distributed among the various art forms as follows:

art museums	21
history museums	14
science museums	7
ballet	12
dance	6
jazz	7
folk and ethnic music	4
chamber music	10
orchestras	17
commercial theater	7
nonprofit theater	32
opera	11
cross-sectional studies	13

The total exceeds eighty-six because many studies surveyed audiences of more than one art form.

PREDICTING QUALITY IN ARTS AUDIENCE STUDIES

By technical quality we refer to the extent to which a study is properly conceptualized and executed in accordance with the norms of scientific investigation. Previous efforts to assess the technical quality of research have generally relied on generalized assessments by peers or specially trained raters (e.g., Persell, 1971; Gordon and Morse, 1975; Yin et al., 1976) or on itemized assessments in which reviewers identify whether specific procedures were employed and generate a score on a quality index based on the number of such procedures present (e.g., Gephart, 1965; Bernstein and Freeman, 1975; Yin et al., 1976; McTavish et al., 1977). While there is merit in using both procedures, because of resource limitations only the latter is used here. Drawing on a number of standard discussions of preferred technical procedures in social research (e.g., Kerlinger, 1973; Bernstein, 1976; Campbell and Stanley, 1966; Lin, 1976), an exhaustive list of seventy-five desirable technical research features developed by McTavish et al. (1977), and observations of factors specifically relevant to arts audience research (Mann, 1972; O'Hare, 1974; Cameron and Abbey, 1960b), we established two sets of criteria for evaluating the quality of the eighty-six audience studies. The first set was used with the questionnaire completed by the directors of the studies; the second set was employed by two raters who evaluated the reports available on each audience study.[1]

A number of experts in the field of research methods have suggested that research quality may consist of two or more dimensions. To examine

this possibility, we initially divided the quality criteria into two domains. Following a distinction elaborated by Campbell and Stanley (1966) and others (e.g., Bracht and Glass, 1968; Bernstein, 1976), these domains can be referred to as internal validity and external validity. Internal validity refers to the extent to which a research design allows an investigator to eliminate alternative explanations for a hypothesized and observed system of causal relations. External validity refers to the extent to which research procedures permit generalization of results beyond the individuals studied to a larger population of interest.

Internal validity of each survey is assessed using nine items on the investigator's questionnaire and ten items from the research-report assessment. These items include whether the survey was pretested, trained personnel were used in the administration of the study, multivariate statistical techniques were employed, and a valid linkage made between the survey's data and the conclusions drawn. External validity is assessed with ten items on the investigator's questionnaire and eight items in the report assessment dealing with such issues as sample selection, sample size, testing for response bias, and use of tests of statistical inference.[2] Each item was dichotomized into high- and low-quality categories. Quality scales were formed by summing the number of times an audience survey fell into the items' high-quality category.

While some of these factors may appear esoteric, they can have a significant impact on research findings. Take, for instance, one hypothetical example of how response bias might distort the findings of a

theater-audience survey. Imagine a situation in which poorly supervised ushers are responsible for inserting survey forms in programs and placing them on every other seat: the usher responsible for the front of the house places the programs in the correct manner; the usher for the middle rows inserts the surveys properly but forgets to collect them; and the usher responsible for the rear falls ill at the last minute and is replaced by someone unfamiliar with the survey procedure who fails to distribute any questionnaires. The audience members in the front-row seats dutifully fill out and return their forms and, when the program has finished, the researcher has a total response rate of about 30 percent. When the researcher, who has not bothered to check the representativeness of the seats from which completed forms were gathered, calculates the results, he or she is surprised to find that the crowd is older and more well-to-do than expected. The theater managers might choose to ignore the survey findings. Or they might launch an expensive campaign to recruit younger and less affluent people to their performances, without realizing that the findings simply reflected the fact that audience members who purchase more expensive tickets are generally older and more affluent than those in the less expensive seats, who were unrepresented among the returned questionnaires (Baumol and Bowen, 1966). Because the response was biased, and because the investigator failed to take this into account, the audience survey could mislead its sponsors.

While this hypothetical case is extreme (though perhaps not so unusual as one might hope), it indicates the problems that can result from poor research techniques. Failure to pretest questionnaires may result in answers that are useless or misleading. Failure to use multivariate statis-

tical techniques may lead research users to infer that one factor is responsible for a second when, in fact, they are both caused by a third. Failure to sample properly may result in generalizations about an entire visitor population on the basis of responses from an unrepresentative group. Thus, the components of the internal- and external-quality scales are important elements of validly usable research.

We discovered that the internal- and external-quality scales were strongly associated: studies high on one scale are likely to be high in the other. The inter-scale correlations are .566 for the investigator-questionnaire items and .733 for the report-assessment data. Accordingly, the internal and external validity dimensions for each data source were combined into a general quality measure.[3] Similarly, using this single quality measure, we found that ratings from the investigator-questionnaire items and the report-assessment data are also highly correlated (.579). Thus, these too were combined to form a single overall quality scale that serves as our technical-quality measure.[4]

The variation in research quality measured by this scale can be illustrated by comparing studies that fall high and low on the index. For the high-quality study we have chosen a social profile survey of the visitors to a major metropolitan art museum; this study is a full standard deviation higher in technical quality than the average audience survey. In the study a questionnaire was distributed to randomly chosen visitors during four time periods selected to represent the seasons of the year. Those distributing the forms were trained and closely supervised. Nearly 5,000 visitors were approached, and more than 95 percent provided usable responses; both

population variability and the width of preferred confidence intervals were considerations in selecting this large a sample. The analysis was facilitated by a computer, and although neither scaling nor multivariate techniques were employed, the results were weighted to adjust for the sample frame, and tests of significance and confidence intervals were established. The study report included a discussion of the research design (though previous audience research was ignored), valid linkages were drawn between the data and conclusions, and there was a discussion of the policy implications accompanied by concrete recommendations. The report, however, does lack a synopsis of its basic findings as well as a statement of the study's limitations.

A low-quality study of the audience for a single performance of a nonprofit theater has been selected for comparison; its quality is a full standard deviation below that of the typical audience study. The survey form was not pretested nor were those who administered the survey carefully supervised, but a probability sampling procedure was employed. The sample size, however, was not based on considerations of statistical inference, a response rate of approximately 50 percent was obtained, and no effort was made to adjust for possible response bias or for the sample design itself. The analysis was undertaken without the aid of a computer, simple bivariate statistics were the most complex data analyses performed, and the report presented little more than the distributions of respondents among the various response categories. The research design, policy issues, policy implications, and study limitations were nowhere discussed.

FACTORS PREDICTING RESEARCH QUALITY

We hypothesized that the quality of a research study is a function of the research resources that an investigator can mobilize. Such resources include the investigator's personal capacities and background and a variety of external factors, including his or her colleagues, audience, career incentives, time, and financial support. For instance, if the intended audience for a report is not well equipped to judge its methodological rigor, the investigator is less constrained to maintain orthodox methodological standards. Similarly, a shortage of funds can force the investigator, whatever his or her personal standards, to employ less acceptable but more economical techniques.

Predicting the quality of a study is, then, at least partly a matter of identifying whether the investigator possesses the research capacities and the necessary environmental supports to prepare a meritorious product. Three dimensions related to these factors have been selected for analysis here. They are: 1) the investigator's research experience and background; 2) the organizational setting of the study; and 3) the financial resources available.

The personal capacity of the investigator to conduct high-quality research is likely to depend on his or her level of training and the extent of his or her research experience. In an analysis of 236 major federal evaluation studies initiated in 1970, however, Bernstein and Freeman found that the researcher's level of formal training had little bearing on study quality (1975: 115). Yet the absence of an effect of formal training may not be universal; it will be examined here through the variable investigator degree, the highest formal degree obtained by the study director.[5]

Investigator experience, our measure of relevant research experience, will be assessed by the sum of the number of surveys the investigator had conducted prior to the audience study in question.[6]

Resources related to finance that affect the quality of a research product include the size, quality, and organization of the research staff, library and computer facilities, and disposable funds for the purchase of ancillary research materials. A convenient, albeit approximate, aggregate measure of project financial resources is the total study budget. Bernstein and Freeman found no significant impact of budget on quality for their evaluation studies, but they excluded studies with total expenditures under $10,000. Most of the arts-audience studies considered here were conducted with more modest resources. Only ten of the eighty-six directors report costs of $10,000 or more ($150,000 was the most expensive), and the median cost was a mere $471.

Three sets of institutional factors that may affect research quality can be distinguished. The first is the profession of the investigator, since different professions hold varying definitions of acceptable research procedure. Bernstein and Freeman found that variations in professional norms between social-science disciplines had consequences for research quality in their study (1975: 118). Even sharper differences may be expected between investigators affiliated with the social sciences and those identified with the marketing or arts-management professions.

A second potentially significant institutional factor is the nature of the organization in which the investigator works. The scientific method is perhaps best established in academic institutions, less so in nonacademic

research organizations, and least so in arts organizations. Studies of research in other fields have yielded conflicting conclusions about the relative quality of academic and nonacademic research. In an analysis of 140 studies of technological innovations in local services, Yin et al. (1976) found no relationship between the kind of organization conducting the study and the quality of the research. Yin and Yates' assessment of case studies of urban decentralization and participation (1975), however, indicated that higher quality studies were conducted in academic institutions. Bernstein and Freeman (1975) report a similar finding.

The third institutional factor is the relationship of the organization conducting the study to the institution that is the subject of the inquiry. An in-house researcher may have a stake in producing results acceptable to his or her organization, some analysts have argued, whereas an autonomous outside researcher may find it easier to maintain an independent, objective stance. On the other hand, in-house investigators may be more sensitive to the research setting and, as a result, may develop more appropriate research designs. The counterbalancing of these two factors may explain the apparent inconsistency of previous research on this issue. Yin et al. (1976) found that outside researchers did higher quality studies than insiders. Yin and Yates, however, found no relationship between these factors and Bernstein and Freeman found that in-house investigators did somewhat better than their unaffiliated counterparts.

Institutional setting is analyzed for our set of art-audience studies with the following variables: Investigator's profession is the field with which the investigator is most closely identified; thirty-one of the study

directors were primarily arts managers; fifteen were in marketing; fifteen were identified with a social-science discipline; and the remaining twenty-five were associated with a variety of other research-related fields.[7] Organization type refers to the kind of organization in which the study director worked: twenty-seven were arts institutions; twenty-three were independent research firms (nonprofit and for-profit); and nineteen were academic institutions. Organization experience is measured by the number of surveys of any kind that the organization had sponsored before the study in question.[8] Finally, organization affiliation refers to whether the study director was from within or outside the organization whose audience was studied. Thirty-seven of the eighty-six studies were conducted by internal researchers; forty-nine were not.

THE CORRELATES OF QUALITY

We now turn to an examination of the actual relationship between the technical quality of the audience studies and the various study characteristics expected to affect study quality. Our first step will be to examine the empirical relationship of technical quality with each study characteristic. However, since these study characteristics are themselves empirically interrelated, it is important to isolate the unique impact of each, controlling for the influence of the others. It is also important to obtain an estimate of their joint, overall impact on quality. Accordingly, our second step will be to analyze the controlled impact of each study characteristic as well as their combined effect on study quality.

To calculate the relationship between quality and each of the factors expected to affect it, we calculated the average quality of the studies within each category of the predictor variables and then subtracted the average quality for all categories combined (15.40, with a standard deviation of 8.45).[9] The resulting deviations from the overall mean for the variables discussed above are displayed in Table 3.1.

First, it is evident that the investigator's prior survey-research experience has virtually no bearing on the quality of his or her study. The average quality of the studies conducted by highly experienced investigators (more than nine previous studies) and by those without prior survey-research experience is less than one point above average, while investigators with moderate experience (one to nine studies) performed slightly below-average research (-1.49). An F-test for inter-group differences fails to meet even the .05 level of statistical significance.[10]

Table 3.1

Deviation from Average Audience-Study Quality by Investigator Background, Resources, and Institutional Setting

Study characteristic	Deviation[a] (N) from average quality	Study characteristic	Deviation (N)
Investigator research background			
Investigator experience		Investigator degree*	
More than 9 stucies	0.64 (23)	Other advanced	6.85 (9)
1-9 studies	-1.49 (23)	Ph.D.	4.11 (27)
0 studies	0.75 (36)	MBA	0.74 (7)
		MA	-5.00 (19)
		BA	-3.76 (22)
Resources			
Budget*			
More than $1649	6.29 (23)		
$350-1649	-0.02 (21)		
Less than $350	-5.58 (26)		
Institutional setting			
Investigator profession*		Organization experience	
Social science	7.01 (15)	More than 12 studies	1.22 (15)
Other research related	4.13 (25)	1-12 studies	-1.72 (15)
Marketing	-0.66 (15)	0 studies	0.25 (30)
Arts	-6.40 (31)		
Organization type*		Organization affiliation*	
Private firm	4.13 (25)	External research	2.76 (37)
Academic	1.99 (26)	Internal research	-2.76 (37)
Arts	-5.02 (32)		

*F-test for inter-group differences is significant at the .001 level.

[a]Deviation from the overall mean.

The second index of investigator background--the investigator's highest degree--does predict study quality: researchers who hold Ph.D.'s and comparable credentials conduct studies which are, on the average, 4 to nearly 7 points above average. Those with only B.A.'s or M.A.'s typically produce research that is 4 to 5 points below average. (The F-test is significant at the .001 level.)

Study budget is strongly correlated with quality. Audience research conducted with less than $350 is more than 5 points below standard, while research performed with budgets of more than $1650 is 6 points above the mean (F-test significant at .001).

The institutional-setting factors also predict variations in the quality measure. Indeed, in this sample, the best predictor of all the variables is investigator profession: studies conducted by social scientists score nearly a full standard deviation above average (7.01), while research carried out by arts-management personnel are three quarters of a standard deviation (6.40) below average. The nature of the organization also makes a difference, but an organization's prior experience with survey research does not. Investigators affiliated with academic institutions and private research firms generate studies 2 and 4 points above average, respectively, while those situated in arts organizations produce research 5 points below average. The quality of inquiries conducted by organizations with extensive experience, however, is a statistically insignificant 3 points above the quality of research by moderately experienced organizations and only a single point above the studies of organizations with no prior experience. Finally, outside research is clearly of higher quality than in-house studies; the mean quality of the former is more than 5 points greater than

of the latter.[11]

In summary, then, in this sample, the best research, by technical standards, is produced by individuals with Ph.D.'s or comparable degrees who are social scientists affiliated with private research firms or academic institutions.

Since the predictor factors themselves are highly intercorrelated, however, it is necessary to examine their simultaneous impact on quality if we are to isolate the importance of each. For instance, both budget and type of organization strongly predict research quality; but these variables are also highly related to one another. The median budget of studies conducted in private firms, academic institutions, and arts organizations are $6,250, $750, and $253, respectively. We cannot tell from the figures reported in Table 3.1 whether budget, type of conducting organization, or some combination of both accounts for the variation in quality.

To solve this dilemma, we apply the statistical technique of "multiple regression analysis," which enables us to inspect the relationship between research quality and any single predictor variable, while holding all other predictor variables constant. By using multiple regression analysis, then, we can describe the impact of budget, conducting-organization type, or any other factor on research quality, all other things equal.

The predictor variables are entered into a regression equation with quality as the dependent variable. Investigator degree is entered in a dichotomized form, with those holding a Ph.D. or related degree joined in one category, and those without such degrees grouped in the other. The logarithmic transformation of the budget is used,[12] and investigator profession and organization experience are entered as sets of dummy (dichotomous) variables. Since investigator and organization experience exhibited insigni-

ficant zero-order associations with quality, they are excluded from the analysis. Because of the high correlation between organizational affiliation and type of organization, organizational affiliation, the less powerful predictor of the two, is also deleted.

The predictor variables' correlations and regression coefficients with study quality are displayed in Table 3.2. The correlations are consistent with the patterns seen in Table 3.1, but the standardized regression (beta) coefficients reveal that several of the predictor variables have little impact on quality once other variables are controlled. For example, the substantial simple correlation of .48 for investigator degree is reduced to a beta value of -.02 once the confounding effects of other variables are removed. This means that whether an investigator holds a Ph.D. or comparable degree has no direct independent impact on study quality. Rather, the high correlation resulted from the fact that study directors with Ph.D.'s frequently were in the social sciences or other research-related professions and had high budgets with which to work.

The association between budget and quality remains very high even after controlling for the other variables. The beta value of .63 exceeds that for any other variable and indicates that one can best predict the quality of an arts-audience study if one knows what resources were available to its director.

The beta coefficients for the three investigator-profession dummy variables are all statistically significant and range from .19 for those in marketing to .28 for social scientists and .39 for those in other research-related disciplines. These beta coefficients signify that, other factors held constant, investigators who were not arts professionals generated technically

Table 3.2

Simple Correlations and Regression Coefficients of Audience Study Quality with Investigator Background, Resources, and Institutional Setting

Study characteristic	r[a]	beta	B	F^{1}_{63}	p
Investigator background					
Investigator degree: Ph.D. or related	.497	-.016	-0.26	0.02	n.s.
Resources					
Log of budget	.699	.627	5.83	41.92	<.001
Institutional setting					
Investigator profession					
social science	.284	.267	5.81	6.12	<.05
other related	.399	.390	7.08	12.50	<.001
marketing	-.061	.191	4.01	4.60	<.05
Organization type					
private firm	.315	-.082	-1.61	0.61	n.s.
academic institution	.230	.138	2.38	1.82	n.s.
Constant			6.21		
Multiple correlation coefficient (R)			0.794	17.91[b]	<.001
R-squared			0.631		
(N)			(70)		

[a] Key: r=simple correlation; beta=standardized regression coefficient; B=unstandardized regression coefficient; F=F-test value (1 and 63 degrees of freedom); p=statistical probability level.

[b] F-value with 6 and 63 degrees of freedom.

better research. Finally, although the organization-type simple correlations are substantial, the more important beta coefficients are not: the beta value is -.08 for private firms and .14 for academic institutions, neither of which approaches statistical significance.

Thus, although a number of factors are empirically associated with higher quality studies, it is evident that only two factors were found to have a substantial direct independent effect: budget and the profession of the study director. Moreover, with only a little assistance from the other variables considered, these two factors explain 63 percent of the variance in study quality. (Variance explained is derived by squaring the multiple correlation coefficient.) This means that we were able to predict audience-study quality in this sample with considerable precision.

Bearing in mind the caveats noted in the paragraph that follows, the unstandardized regression coefficients can be used to estimate the likely consequences of various decisions undertaken at the initiation of an audience study. On the basis of the relationship discerned for this sample, if the study were allocated virtually no budget and placed in the hands of an investigator primarily identified with the arts, a quality index of approximately 6.2 could be expected; this is more than a full standard deviation (8.3 points) below the average quality level for all the studies. An investigator with a Ph.D. or related degree would not improve quality, but increasing the budget would have a dramatic impact. By this model, expansion of the budget from $0 to $1,000 would add 5.8 points to the score. (It would require an additional $10,000 to bolster the score another 5.8 points.) Similarly, employment of a social scientist as primary investigator is associated with an additional 5.8 points; were a member of some other related profession primary investigator instead, the projected increment would 7.1 points; for a marketing

analyst, the score would rise by 4.0 points. Whether the study is assigned to an investigator located in an arts organization, private firm, or academic institution makes very little difference, though 2.4 points might be added if the academic setting is selected. Thus, if the studies reviewed here are typical, expanding the budget from $0 to $1,000, selecting a marketing analyst rather than an arts professional, and quartering the study in an academic institution rather than an arts organization would increase expected quality by over 12 points to a total of 18.4. On the basis of these studies, one would predict that if a social scientist were chosen in place of the marketing analyst, the score would rise to 20.2, and were a member of a related research profession chosen instead, the increment would be over 15 points, for a total of 21.5.

It should be noted that these figures result from the manipulation of data from the eighty-six audience studies analyzed above. They represent tendencies, not hard and fast laws. For example, some arts organizations have produced technically better studies than some academically based researchers. Second, these figures rest on the assumptions that these eighty-six studies are representative of arts-audience studies in general and that the associations found are genuine and do not reflect some other set of underlying factors that influence both the predictor variables and research quality. We believe that both of these assumptions are reasonable, but we are unable to prove them with our data. Finally, even if the relationships found have existed in the past, they will not automatically continue to exist in the future. For example, if research users were to become much more sophisticated and demanding about research methodology, the technical quality of studies might become less dependent upon the profession of the study director or the nature of the conducting organization.

matically to every research-planning decision. Rather they constitute a description of the factors affecting the quality of research that has been done in the past six years and should only be seen as suggestive guidelines to be taken into account in considering research alternatives.

In conclusion, arts-audience research varies enormously in its technical quality, and the evidence presented here suggests that much of this variation is a direct consequence of variation in two elements of the research process—the resources available for the study's execution and the professional identity of the principal investigator. Other elements hypothesized to sustain the technical quality of audience research are observed to have little immediate impact on the quality of the final research product.

PREDICTING THE UTILITY OF ARTS AUDIENCE STUDIES

Ten areas in which audience-research results are frequently applied were identified through an assessment of the available literature and informal discussions with thirty individuals involved in audience research and arts management. These ten areas in which arts research has been useful were aggregated into two subgroups, one consisting of applications related primarily to decisions affecting the internal operations of arts organizations, the other principally related to the arts organization's relationship with its environment. Internal policy questions included the evaluation or selection of exhibits or works to be performed, the development of educational programs, and the establishment of ticket prices and hours or performance times. External policy issues included planning public-relations campaigns, designing strategies for approaching funding sources, and developing or evaluating audience expansion programs. The respondent was asked to rate the actual utility of his or her study for each of the ten policy areas. An internal utility scale was created by summing the ratings of seven internal items, and an external utility scale was created from the sum of the ratings for three external items.[13]

The significance of a high or low rating on these scales can be illustrated by again referring to the two studies used earlier to exhibit the meaning of the quality index. The high-quality study--the survey of visitors to an art museum--also rated nearly one standard deviation above average in overall utility (assessed by combining the two utility measures). This survey proved of high value to the museum for its public relations efforts, development of strategies for recruiting new visitors, the assess-

ment of an arts development plan, the evaluation of the drawing power of a particular exhibit, and the development of educational materials related to the museum. In this case, a study of low technical quality—the survey of a nonprofit theater audience—also rated one-half standard deviation below average in utility. The only area in which it found high application was in the theater's audience development plans.

We considered the possibility that ratings would be biased by the respondent's relationship to the research and application process. In half the cases (54 percent) the respondent reported that he or she was the person "primarily concerned with managerial or policy applications of the study's findings," and half (55 percent) also reported that they were "principally involved in making the decision to finance or fund the audience study." Since researchers involved in applying results might be particularly sensitive to less visible applications, their studies might receive higher overall utility ratings. Similarly, researchers involved in funding decisions might have a vested interest in perceiving that their study had made a positive contribution; this, too could yield a high utility rating. A comparison of the average internal and external utility ratings of these groups indicates that their assessments do not substantially differ. Directors involved in applications are slightly more likely to note utility than are other investigators (1.30 and 0.29 point differences for internal and external dimensions, respectively), but, contrary to expectations, funders are slightly less likely to provide a high rating than nonfunders (-0.66 and -0.69 point differences). Since none of the observed discrepancies approach statistical significance, we assume that these factors do not substantially bias the utility ratings.

Students of applied social research have identified a number of factors that may affect the extent to which a research study finds application, although few of their hypotheses have been subjected to empirical test. In general, factors believed to facilitate application of research results to organizational needs fall in three domains: 1) characteristics of the study and investigator, such as study quality and substantive conclusions, investigator reputation, and project resources; 2) characteristics associated with the potential user, such as the user's attitude toward and experience with social research and the political environment into which the research is received; and 3) features of the investigator-user interaction, including the study's timeliness, the degree of cooperation in the design and execution of the study, and the means by which study results are communicated (Caro, 1971; Rossi and Williams, 1972; Weiss, 1972, 1977; Caplan et al., 1975; Cohen and Garet, 1975; van de Vall et al., 1976; Rein and White, 1977).

We are primarily concerned in this chapter with only a single of these factors—the technical quality of the research—and we expect that high-quality research should be more useful than research of lesser merit. Research that is carefully designed and executed can be expected to provide a better basis for decisions since it yields information that is more accurate and therefore, one might expect, more appropriate for decision makers' needs. The quality of evaluation research, for instance, has been shown to influence whether the program under evaluation is concluded to be a success or failure; in this case, reliance on faculty studies may lead to fundamentally misdirected policy decisions (Mann, 1972; Yin and Yates, 1975; Gordon and

Morse, 1975; Yin et al., 1976).

Relatively little research, however, has tested the assumption that high-quality research is applied more widely than poor research. Evidence that skepticism is widespread among top federal policy makers over the reliability of applied social research (Caplan, 1976) suggests that these users, at least, are highly sensitive to the issue of research quality. A study by Weiss and Bucuvalas (1977), in which 155 federal, state, and local mental-health officials were asked to rate brief descriptions of actual research studies, found that of five study characteristics evaluated research quality was the best predictor of the subjects' willingness to consider the studies' findings in making relevant decisions. On the other hand, Patton et al. (1977), in intensive case studies of twenty evaluations of health programs, concluded that methodological rigor played a very minor role in determining the extent to which evaluation results were utilized.

In isolating the impact of quality, however, it is important to separate the direct impact of quality itself from the joint effect of some underlying factor on both quality and utility. One correlate of quality that may affect utility as well is the nature of the organization conducting a study. Although outside investigators may produce research that is higher quality than that conducted by their in-house counterparts, van de Vall and his colleagues have argued that insiders' research is more likely to be used (van de Vall, 1975; van de Vall et al., 1976). Consistent with this thesis is Caplan's (1976) finding that top federal officials make extremely disproportionate use of research conducted within their own agencies. While arts-audience studies differ from the kind of applied

social research that has been the subject of previous studies, it will be important in our analysis to consider the possible effects of underlying factors. As a result, we look not just at the relationship between utility and quality, but between utility and the correlates of quality as well.

The average utility ratings for audience studies as a function of investigator background, resources, institutional setting, and research quality are displayed in Table 3.3. The most notable finding is that nothing we have measured, neither quality nor its correlates, has any substantial impact on research utility, at least as perceived by study directors. Although some differences are apparent for organization experience, organization type, and research quality, none of these approach even a minimum level of statistical significance. Contrary to expectations, the relationship between utility and quality is small and inconsistent. High-quality research has an internal-utility rating 0.13 below average, medium-quality research 0.66 above average, and low-quality work 0.51 below average. Our data indicate that there is extensive use of audience research in decision making, and it varies from study to study; but none of the factors considered here influences the extent to which research is applied.

Although the bivariate relationships between the utility measures and predictor variables are largely insubstantial, it is possible that three-variable or higher order interaction effects may be present. Among the most likely candidates is an interaction between investigator experience and organizational affiliation. It can be argued that the effect of investigator experience on utility will be more pronounced if the research is internally based than when it is conducted outside the arts organization. When the research is internally based, an investigator with prior survey experience

Table 3.3

Deviation from Average Audience Study Internal and External Utility by Investigator Background, Resources, Institutional Setting and Quality

Study characteristic	Deviation[a] In.	Ex.	(N)	Study characteristic	Deviation In.	Ex.	(N)
Investigator research background							
Investigator experience				Investigator degree			
More than 9 studies	-0.31	-0.49	(21)	Other advanced	0.46	0.99	(8)
1-9 studies	0.24	0.77	(19)	Ph.D.	0.99	-0.19	(20-21)
0 studies	0.10	-0.03	(20)	MBA	0.17	0.41	(6)
				MA	-0.66	0.11	(16-17)
				BA	-0.66	-0.41	(20)
Resources							
Budget							
More than $1649	-0.42	-0.00	(20)				
$350-1649	-0.44	-0.13	(16-17)				
Less than $350	0.72	0.09	(20)				
Institutional setting							
Investigator profession				Previous organization experience			
Social science	0.75	0.50	(8-9)	More than 12 studies	-1.99	-0.91	(13)
Other related	-0.25	-0.39	(24)	1-12 studies	-0.03	0.72	(12)
Marketing	-0.44	0.04	(11)	No previous studies	1.01	0.13	(26)
Arts	0.17	0.17	(28-29)				
Organization type				Organization affiliation			
Private firm	1.16	0.44	(19)	Internal research	0.27	0.08	(31)
Academic	-1.45	-0.55	(23)	External research	-0.26	-0.08	(32)
Arts	0.55	0.20	(27)				
Quality							
Quality index (points)							
High (20 to 37)	-0.13	0.14	(21-21)				
Medium (11 to 19)	0.66	0.04	(25)				
Low (0 to 10)	-0.51	-0.15	(26-27)				

[a]Deviation from the overall mean; In.=internal utility, Ex.=external utility.

is likely to design a study that is more responsive to the specific policy conditions and problems of the arts organization. When the research is externally based, however, the prior experience of an investigator is less likely to result in special sensitivity to arts-organization issues. Though the relatively small number of cases on which the statistics are based renders any conclusions highly tentative, the patterns are consistent with expectations. Among studies housed within arts organizations, investigators with at least some prior survey experience produce studies which are on average 1.87 points higher in internal utility and 1.32 points higher in external utility than those studies carried out by inexperienced analysts; the corresponding correlations are .320 and .329 (F-test significant at the .05 level in both cases). By contrast, investigator experience actually has a modest negative effect on utility when the research is housed outside the arts organization which is the subject of the study. The difference between the research of experienced and inexperienced investigators is -1.48 points for internal utility and -1.05 points for external utility; the correlations are, respectively, -.169 and -.248 (F-test not significant). The differences are not large, but they do suggest that prior research experience only makes for better utilization of the results when the researcher is on the staff of the arts organization.

But we are still left with a puzzle. Our independent variables enable us to predict the technical quality of arts-audience research with an unusually high degree of accuracy. But neither research quality, the common-sense explanation, nor any of the underlying variables that predicted technical quality so well, seem to have a major effect on whether research findings are applied. In contrast to the 63 percent of variance in quality explained, we

can predict only nine percent of the variance in internal utility and six percent in external utility. To some extent, the absence of an association between quality and utility may be a product of the nature of arts-audience research and arts policy. Research-based policy making in such areas as education and health has a long tradition and is often carried out at the federal level. A proliferation of potentially useful studies has put many policy makers in a position to draw selectively on the best and to disregard the worst. By contrast, arts policy is young and largely decentralized. Most of research that we studied was performed by local institutions, with few resources and little cumulative experience.[14] Since a significant research infrastructure for the arts is only now being developed, it may be that many of those who would use audience studies are not sufficiently aware of research standards to use them critically and selectively.

Even if this is so, however, it is not in itself a satisfactory explanation. The extent to which studies are applied varies sharply from case to case and something must be causing this variation. In the absence of clear answers related to quality or its correlates, let us turn our attention to some of the more subtle institutional processes that determine when research is done, when its findings are applied, and when they are abandoned. To study such processes, we conducted open-ended interveiws with individuals who had either directed arts-audience studies or been responsible for applying their results. The next chapter reports our findings.

NOTES

1. Quality measures based on the investigator-questionnaire information could be somewhat inflated, since there may be a tendency for investigators to report greater conformity to the canons of scientific inquiry than occurred in practice. By contrast, quality measures based on our own report assessment may somewhat underestimate quality, since the failure of the report to mention a preferable methodological feature is coded as its absence from the study.

2. The internal and external validity items were the following (a study was scored as high quality on an item if it included the procedure described):

Investigator's questionnaire internal validity: survey pretested; trained field staff; survey administration directly supervised; survey measures based on measures used in previous studies; bivariate statistics used; tables with more than two variables used; multiple regression and related techniques employed; other multivariate techniques utilized; computer-based analysis.

Report assessment internal validity: procedures or instrument pretested; trained research staff; conventional measurement techniques employed; previous research discussed or used; scaling techniques employed; visitors distinguished from visits; bivariate analysis; table analysis; multivariate analysis; valid linkage between data and conclusions.

Investigator's questionnaire external validity: some sampling procedure used; sample size of at least 500; response rate of at least 60 percent; width of confidence intervals a consideration in establishing sample size; population heterogeneity a consideration in establishing sample size; response bias assessed; weighting used for response bias, sample frame, or both; tests of statistical inference used; confidence intervals established; analysis of variance employed.

Report assessment external validity: sample and/or population clearly defined; sample definition appropriate; random sample principles employed; sample bias checked; respondent representativeness checked; tests of statistical inference used; weighting used as a result of sample design; generalizability of findings described.

3. Six additional items were added to the 10 internal and 8 external validity items in forming the quality scale based on the report assessment data. These items were: research and policy issues conceptualized; research design described; implications of study results discussed; specific policy recommendations offered; nontechnical summary of results included; results compared with those of other surveys.

4. The score of the audience studies on the overall quality scale ranges from 0 to 37, with a median between 15 and 16. The mean is 15.40 and the standard deviation is 8.45.

5. The highest earned degree is coded as follows: (1) high school diploma; (2) college B.A. or B.S.; (3) M.A., Ed.M.; (4) M.B.A., D.B.A. (professional business degrees); (5) Ph.D., Ed.D.

6. The investigators were asked in the survey: "At the time of the study, how many previous audience studies or other surveys had the director participated in or directed?"

7. The other research-related professions include such fields as urban planning, architecture, engineering and applied mathematics, and public opinion polling.

8. The investigators were asked: "At the time of the study. . . how much prior experience had the conducting organization had with [previous audience studies or other surveys]?"

9. For example, if studies conducted by people with brown eyes had an average quality of 20.00 and those conducted by people with blue eyes had an average quality of 10.00, the value of brown eyes would be 20.00-15.40, or +4.60, and the value of blue eyes would be 10.00-15.40, or -5.40.

10. An F-test indicates how likely it is that an observed inter-group difference could occur by chance alone rather than as a result of a social process. If an F-test is significant at the .10 level, for instance, there is a 10 percent likelihood that the differences observed in the quality of two groups of studies reflects a chance occurrence and does not indicate that the two groups actually differ in their quality. A researcher, then, would generally argue that the observed difference was not substantial enough to signify a true difference. On the other hand, if the F-test is significant at the .01 level, there is only a one percent chance that the difference between the groups is the product of a chance outcome, and the researcher is more confident that the difference reflects a real social process.

11. The importance of the internal-external distinction in research location is further corroborated by a separate analysis of the externally conducted research alone. Studies vary in the degree of cooperation between the investigator and the arts institution whose audience was the subject of the study. If external housing of research is important for producing high quality, it can be reasoned that the highest quality external studies should be those conducted by investigators with greatest independence from the subject institution. This possibility can be examined by dividing the externally conducted studies into three categories: (1) no cooperation (respondents characterized their study as one with "no consultation in the design and analysis of the study, all decisions made by conducting organization"); (2) moderate cooperation ("subject institution formally reviewed study design and analysis, but most study decisions made by conducting organization); (3) strong cooperation ("subject institution

had approximately equal voice in study design and analysis" or "determined most of the study design and analysis"). As anticipated, the mean quality of the no cooperation studies (n=14) is 1.88 points above the average external study quality (which itself is 2.76 points above the overall average); the moderate cooperation studies (n=17) have an average quality identical to that of all external studies; and the strong cooperation (n=6) studies are 4.39 points below the external average. Thus, the critical advantage of external research housing for quality appears to be that the investigator is freed of non-scientific constraints from the institution that is the subject of the study.

12. The logarithm of the project budget is used on the assumption that the marginal utility of each additional dollar declines as the total budget rises.

13. Each item was rated on three-point scale (1=not useful, 2=somewhat useful, 3=highly useful). The question was as follows (the mean and standard deviation for the rating of each item appear in parentheses): "To what extent were the [audience] study's findings actually utilized? Please rate the. . . utility of the study for each of the following areas:

[Internal Utility]
(1) select exhibits or works to be performed (1.62; 0.90)
(2) evaluate exhibits, performances, programs (1.77; 0.94)
(3) develop educational or informative materials (1.63; 0.83)
(4) decide on hours and/or performance times (1.48; 0.83)
(5) decide on admission or ticket prices (1.52; 0.91)
(6) decide on organization management or personnel (1.28; 0.74)
(7) initiate or evaluate arts development plan (1.76; 0.92)

[External Utility]
(1) promote public relations (1.96; 0.84)
(2) gain or maintain support from funding sources (1.59; 0.77)
(3) develop or evaluate audience expansion strategies (2.20; 0.89)

The mean and standard deviation of the internal utility scale are 13.63 and 3.81; for the external utility scale these values are 5.72 and 1.96. The two scales exhibit relatively high internal consistency in that there is a marked tendency for a high rating on one of the scale items to be associated with a high rating on the other scale items. The 21 item-to-item correlations among the internal utility scale items range from .22 to .77 and they average .44; the range for the 3 external utility item-to-item correlations is .35 to .51, with an average of .43.

14. In fact, research on museum visitors, which is part of a tradition dating back to the work of Robinson in the 1920s, was found to be significantly more highly utilized than were studies of performing-arts audiences.

CHAPTER 4: ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING RESEARCH UTILIZATION

According to conventional theories of rational decision making, managers commission research when they need pertinent but uncollected data to solve a specific problem. Research is undertaken to provide the requisite information, and the problem is then solved using the results of the research. One corollary of this perspective, upon which much research management is based, is that the value of research for decision making depends on its technical quality: the better the research quality, the more potent it will be (Simon, 1965).

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, it is possible to predict the technical quality of an arts-audience survey with considerable precision if one knows its budget and the study director's profession. Surprisingly, however, neither a study's technical quality nor any of the other factors that account for quality can explain the considerable variation in utility reported for the studies assessed. Asked about specific applications, study directors reported some studies as very useful, others as much less valuable. The sources of such variation, however, remain a mystery.

To better understand the subtle institutional processes that contribute to the utilization of audience research, we have intensively examined twenty-five audience studies. These studies included all of those in our possession that had been conducted between 1974 and 1977 in the New England and Middle Atlantic regions. Among the studies were surveys concerned with economic impact, general planning, specific planning, exhibit effectiveness,

and members or subscribers. Eleven museum studies were included (six art museums, two history museums, one science museum, and two other museums), as were ten performing-arts organization studies (five theaters, two classical music organizations, one opera, one ballet, and one other). There were also two cross-sectional studies and two surveys of those attending a number of different arts events. In each instance we attempted to interview both the study director and the person most likely to have been in a position to utilize the research results. However, in eight instances, either the study director was the key user or interviews with only one of the two individuals could be obtained. Forty-two semi-structured interviews were completed; they averaged forty minutes in length and ranged from twenty to ninety minutes.[1] As additional background material, unstructured interviews were conducted with twenty-five other individuals who had commissioned, directed, or attempted to use the results of audience research.

Our interviews with the audience-research directors and users revealed that the conventional view of the decision-making process provides a poor guide to what really happens when arts organizations sponsor audience studies. Despite the wide range of audiences surveyed and types of studies represented, the researchers and arts managers who shared their experiences with us portrayed a remarkably similar process and one which sharply differed from that which might have been expected. Their accounts explain the at first perplexing lack of connection between research technical quality and utility; they also suggest lessons for those who would undertake audience research themselves. In this chapter, we shall examine this process in detail, first by describing the purposes for which research is initiated; second, by illus-

trating the varied ways in which audience research has been applied; third, by explaining the ways in which research enters the decision-making process; and, finally, by discussing the factors that are critical in facilitating the utilization of audience-study results.

THE PURPOSES OF AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Contrary to the conventional decision-making perspective's predictions, not one of the twenty-five studies for which directors and/or users were interviewed was undertaken primarily to gather information necessary to influence a specific managerial decision. Instead, they were instigated by such factors as the need for political leverage, the appearance of an unexpected opportunity to have a cost-free study conducted, and a variety of diffuse concerns only indirectly related to specific organization decisions. While most managers exhibited a lively curiosity that influenced the content of the survey questions, the need for data for specific decisions was never a study's raison d'etre.

Political factors. The most frequently cited major reason for undertaking an audience study was politics, prominently mentioned for ten of the twenty-five studies. Political purposes included acquiring evidence useful in seeking funding, gaining leverage in internal policy debates, and appeasing members of the organization's board of directors or other influentials.

The initiation of research for the sake of seeking outside financing is illustrated in the case of one study undertaken to document public support for a new performing-arts facility. Its purpose is described by the study director:

> A committee [of bankers and businessmen] set about to raise money to get [the local government] to take over the theater for the county once it was renovated. The study was a spin-off of that effort.... It was done to prove that there was a market and to gain additional support to get the county to approve and accept a building.

In another instance, an economic-impact study was performed to illustrate

the importance of a beleaguered theater district to an urban economy. The city was ready to act and "the research had clout because it documented the obvious." In yet another case, a cross-sectional survey was commissioned by a municipal government to document an existing arts council's failure to meet local art needs. The survey results contributed to the resignation of the old council and the creation of a new one. Finally, one arts council conducted a study essentially for the purpose of announcing its presence and increasing its scope of operations.

Other research was commissioned for use in internal debate. Individuals needed additional ammunition for their positions and were confident that a research study would support their cause. Though the study instigator may have been open to persuasion, the primary motive was to compile data for a position rather than to resolve an issue. One theater manager, for instance, in explaining his reasons for surveying the audience of a summer drama festival immediately after becoming manager, stated:

> In the summer, [the theater] did seven shows in rolling rep, which I think is insane itself, and [the theater was] doing about 50 percent business.... I had the feeling that [the theater] should be delivering a more popular product, and the survey helped document this. The next year we provided more popular plays and got 90 percent business.

Being new to the job, this experienced arts manager needed to demonstrate the value of an alternative policy before instituting a controversial change, and he (correctly) anticipated that a survey would support his own preference for more popular fare. Similarly, a new director for a rather traditional museum saw in a wide-ranging membership study a fulcrum for change:

> I had been at the [museum] a little over a year as director and felt it was important to see how we appeared to our

> major constituency, the membership. We had been in business for a long while and certain things continued to be done because they had always been done that way, without our knowing what our members wanted.

Still another museum visitor survey was initiated to gather evidence to combat pressure to institute an admission fee. The converse purpose motivated one study of another arts facility; a survey was undertaken to justify the institution of an admission fee to a skeptical state funding agency.

Finally, audience studies are occasionally done in response to pressure from influential membership committees or members of boards of directors. One inquiry was undertaken of a performing-arts institution, for instance, because of a membership committee's concern with what it perceived as an overly "elite" audience. The study's findings, however, were largely ignored by management. This was also the outcome of another study initiated at the behest of a chairperson of a museum's membership committee. The administration of the museum regarded the survey questionnaire as "silly" and the disappointed study director concluded that her study "was just an exercise." She observed: "I got a lot of experience and a lot of frustration. I didn't know who to tell the results to or who would listen to me."

Opportunity. The second most common general motivation for undertaking audience research was the appearance of an unexpected and relatively cost-free opportunity to undertake a study. This was a principal consideration in eight of the twenty-five cases we examined. Arts managers often take advantage of such occasions for inexpensive research to satisfy a kind of free-floating curiosity. Volunteer labor, the availability of outside funding, or both were usually the catalyst. In one instance, museum administrators were in the process of preparing a grant application for federal funds. It was a

near certainty that the museum would receive the grant, and at the last minute an affiliated researcher revised the proposal to include a visitor survey. Similarly, when questioned about the timing of a visitor study of another museum, the director said: "Simple, funds became available.... [A federal agency] made funding available for the purpose so [the museum] used the occasion to do a study." Volunteer outside labor was the motivating factor in other instances. In one case, a county-wide attenders/nonattenders study was included in a larger audience-development program only after a university professor stepped forward, suggested the study, and promised to design the questionnaire and provide student labor. A theater study was undertaken when a business-school student with an outside grant took it on as a summer job. The initiative for such studies often rested with a single individual prepared to take advantage of an opportune situation. One researcher, hired as a consultant for overall planning, defined his role to include carrying out a visitor study. The museum "didn't so much want the study done as they, kicking and screaming, grudgingly allowed me to do it."

General concerns. The third major reason for undertaking audience research, principally cited in six of the twenty-five studies, is a vague sense of concern, a feeling on the part of managers that they are working in a knowledge vacuum and that certain kinds of background information, usually not clearly specified, would be good to have. In several cases, for instance, museums were about to undertake long-range physical planning and felt that they needed "some input" from visitors or wanted "to get some idea about the audience." One outside researcher complained that a museum representative

approached him with "vague, vacuous questions." Another said of an arts-council client, "they vaguely suggested doing a survey of general goals." A museum gallery director spoke of the difficulty he had in fixing goals for a study of his visitors, and an in-house research director for a performing-arts institution described his study as a "first feeble attempt at research.... Some of it was stabbing in the dark." The studies were generally inspired by a genuine desire to learn more and a sense that so little was known that any increment in knowledge would be worthwhile.

THE IMPACT OF AUDIENCE STUDIES

Despite the variety of reasons for which these studies were undertaken, and the wide range of quality, once they were completed, arts managers did use their results extensively. The reasons for this apparent paradox--widespread application of research undertaken for diffuse or noninstrumental reasons--will be explained in the sections that follow. In this section we shall simply describe the range and extent of applications reported.

Participants in all but two of the twenty-five studies mentioned at least one example of study impact, and multiple usages were cited in many cases. Of seventy-seven applications described, fifty-one (or 66 percent) were broadly instrumental--related to such specific organizational decisions as physical planning, marketing, programming, or further research. Twenty-six instances (34 percent) were basically political--related to either internal politics or external lobbying and fundraising. Instrumental usage was made of twenty of the twenty-five studies, while political application was made of eighteen of the studies. Instrumental applications can be further divided into physical planning, marketing, research, and programming; political usage can be divided into internal and external politics.

Instrumental applications. The most frequently mentioned use of audience research was for the instrumental area of physical planning, cited for fourteen of the studies and representing 29 percent of all instances of application (Table 4.1). In nearly half of these cases, research findings were inputs into decisions involving the orientation of museum visitors (e.g., signs, information desks, guide training, brochures) or the institution of attender conveniences (e.g., special bus services, restaurant facilities, roadway markings, cleaner washrooms). Audience research was also cited as influencing decisions about ticket and admission prices, performance times and museum hours, exhibit labelling and design,

Table 4.1

Frequency of Instrumental and Political Applications of Audience Research Results

Application	Number of studies citing application	Number of applications	Percentages of all applications
Instrumental--total	20	51	66.2
Physical planning	14	22	28.6
Marketing	12	15	19.5
Research	8	9	11.7
Programming	5	5	6.5
Political--total	18	26	33.8
Internal politics	14	17	22.1
External politics	9	9	11.7
All applications	23	77	100.0

exhibit-acquisitions policies, and performance sites. More generally, studies were said to have an indirect influence on architectural planning and to increase staff concern with visitor orientation.

Marketing was the second most important area of instrumental application. Input into marketing decisions was cited for twelve studies and represented 20 percent of all cases of utility. Audience research provided input into decisions to change the target of marketing efforts and to change the themes of promotional materials. More generally, studies were also given credit for stimulating institutional thinking about audience composition, marketing, and audience development.

Surprisingly, the directors and users reported that 12 percent of the study applications were in the instrumental area of research itself. Six studies were used to encourage research beyond the institution sponsoring the study; three studies aroused enthusiasm for further research within the same organization. Finally, 6 percent of the applications were for the instrumental purpose of programming. Study results had a direct effect on programming choices or reoriented administrators' thinking about programming.

Political applications. Internal political consequences were cited for fourteen of the twenty-five studies, representing 22 percent of all uses mentioned. Such political uses included increasing trustee interest, selling administrators on the value of marketing, aiding the reorganization of a local arts council, providing leverage with parental or affiliated organizations, sparking the withdrawal of some members to form new institutions, and making curators more secure in their positions. Of the application areas described

here, internal political uses were the most often unexpected and least explicit at the time the study was conceived.

Use in external political areas was mentioned in nine of the studies and represented 12 percent of all instances cited. Audience-research results were used to seek funding from municipal and state governments and from private individuals and concerns. No interviewees explicity indicated the results were useful in approaching the federal government.

It is evident, then, that audience research, whatever the reason it is undertaken, has payoffs for arts organizations in a wide range of substantive areas. Even research that is frightfully poor by orthodox standards of social-science inquiry has played a useful role in the deliberations of arts managers. These conclusions do not accord with the conventional view of research, which holds that research is most powerful when it is most sophisticated, that good research, designed to address specific problems, is used to make specific decisions about these problems. While the ideal model may characterize aspects of a few of the studies, we have seen that much audience research is highly variable in quality, is rarely designed with specific decisions in mind, yet is reported as being highly useful. This could reflect a lack of research and managerial sophistication among arts administrators, but we think not. Rather, just as research is not undertaken for the purposes commonly supposed, research findings do not play the role in rational decision making that has usually been attributed to them. To understand how audience research becomes applied, let us look more closely at the ways in which study findings have affected arts management among the cases we have examined.

THE ROLE OF AUDIENCE RESEARCH FINDINGS IN ARTS MANAGEMENT

The most notable feature of the impact of research findings on arts management is that it is invariably a marginal one. This is true in several senses. First, arts managers usually have at least some administrative experience, are often aware of the limitation of research, and rely on their own experience and judgment to assess research conclusions. Research findings are used selectively in the context of a complex background of previously acquired knowledge and beliefs. For instance, a performing-arts manager cited an audience study--the technical limitations of which he was fully aware--as influencing his decision to change promotional strategies for a series of public performances:

> It helped us refocus our promotional efforts in the [outdoor drama series]. I'm not totally trustful of the results, but they did show a large number of people heard about the concerts in the community newspapers, which we hadn't expected, and even if it's only half as large as the survey indicated, it is very economical advertising. We're putting more money into the neighborhood press.

Studies frequently serve to reinforce preferences already held or decisions already favored. The results of one study, said a theater manager, "followed exactly what my gut was saying. I just wanted to be sure I was right."

Conversely, when research results contradict strongly held positions or views, they are likely to be ignored despite high technical quality and clearcut policy implications. Thus, one well-executed museum visitor study had virtually no impact even though it contained implications for museum design and visitor orientation. As one person acquainted with the study

recounted:

> [The museum staffers] were skeptical, first because they could not believe that [the research director] knew more about the public than they did, and second because they did not feel that knowing about the public had anything to do with how the galleries should be handled.... The major criticism of [the research director] was that he was an outsider who lacked a depth of knowledge based on years of experience. He was not criticized on any specifically methodological grounds; his critics didn't know what methodology was.

In some instances, studies provided material for those on all sides of a debate. One somewhat cynical research veteran observed of another museum study:

> I'm a bit jaundiced against this study, I have to say. People have pulled out of it what they wanted. They picked and chose what they needed to support their position. It's a predictable use.

A second sense in which audience studies are marginal is that decisions into which they enter usually involve competing priorities. Even when participants take the accuracy of findings for granted and agree on the implications, differences in values strongly affect their willingness to implement the findings. In one typical instance, attenders of a performing-arts institution were found to strongly prefer an earlier curtain time, but action on this finding was thwarted by the need for a tight rehearsal schedule. Similarly, many museum directors and curators balanced the implications of visitor-research findings against their commitment to other museum functions than responding to visitor needs. One museum director put it this way: "My chief purpose is to preserve the collection; my secondary purpose is to offer programs and services which will maintain public support." Indeed, our interviewees cited many instances of admini-

trative or curatorial resistance to research implications that were perceived as implicitly populist. Thus, research frequently confronts vested interests, making direct application problematic. As one director of a performing-arts audience study put it, "In general, data step on toes."

Finally, audience research findings are also marginal because they are often relevant to marginal problems. Most arts organizations have limited funds and are understaffed. Even relatively limited programs may be difficult to implement. One performing-arts manager favored a marketing strategy suggested by one study (to arrange a dinner package with a neighboring hotel), but noted that the "hand-to-mouth" existence of his organization precluded arranging for even such a minimal innovation. Similarly, several individuals in arts councils felt that other demands on their time had prevented them from fully disseminating the results of audience studies they had undertaken. And one performing-arts festival director attributed an inability to utilize research results to the precarious economic existence of his organization: "One of the restraints on the implementation of new policy was that the festival is just so poor."

If research results play a largely marginal role in managerial policy-making, their impact is also highly indirect. Findings and implications are not straightforwardly translated into decisions; rather, research contributes in circuitous, often unexpected, ways to the policy process.

In many cases, the studies are used less to suggest solutions to problems than to catalyze action on a burning issue or to symbolize a point of view:

I think that the survey results basically gave us a data

> base to support many of the things we had an inclination about already.... But there was nothing cataclysmically different from what we had expected. It simply gave us a statistical base from which to work.

In one museum where a labelling study was undertaken, the specific findings have been largely ignored, but staff people arguing for more label material often cite the study to bolster their position.

In other cases, directors or users mentioned that study findings found application but were at a loss to assess the finding's relative weight in the decision-making process, again suggesting that the effects were largely intangible. One sponsor of an internally managed public-opinion poll, the results of which were used in a successful lobbying effort, said of the study, at one point, "It was definitely effective in our case and at our level of government." Several moments later, however, he reflected, "It is hard to attribute anything directly to the report. The biggest thing was impact--much of what was found was very obvious, but they never [had done] anything about it.... They needed some kind of incentive." The effect was more catalytic than decisive. Another in-house research director noted that she used survey results mainly to legitimize decisions already reached.

In several other instances, staff members of arts organizations assumed the role of champions of a survey, using it repeatedly in arguments over issues involving the public. In these cases, data was brought to bear in the decision-making process, but its use was largely symbolic, representing more generalized commitments to such principles as service, better visitor orientation, or the value of marketing. In these cases the research was simply part of a much broader process of discourse and con-

tention over organizational values and aims.[2]

The research process itself is at times as influential as the study findings. An audience study can serve to focus attention on certain aspects of an art organization's management or environment. One researcher felt that a report of his study of museum labelling was almost completely ignored, but noted that a "number of the staff had never thought about the issues I was raising, and my comments seemed to open their eyes." In another museum study, both the museum director and the researcher felt the study had heightened sensitivity to visitor concerns; the researcher observed:

> I think it has made a general difference in how people see things. There is not yet a radical enough effect.... But the idea of the questionnaire has been accepted. That goes on a lot now, whenever there is any controversy or question to be solved, people circulate questionnaires to get visitor opinions. The idea of feedback from visitors has become more important. Even going out on the floor and observing and talking to people has become more important. The basic change is the idea that you can't sit behind closed doors and predict visitor reaction, you have to go and find it out.

One of the most important applications of audience studies was not in solving problems but in finding them. Rational decision-making theory would suggest that organizations monitor their environments, note problems as they arise, and made decisions accordingly. Research is generally seen as a part of the decision process, undertaken to fill gaps in information needed to make rational judgments on existing or future programs. More often, however, research appeared to help organizations scan their environment, to define problem areas where at most only vague concerns existed.[3] Museum visitor studies were particularly useful in this respect. Studies

of visitors to several museums led to numerous, easily accomplished changes. Floors were renumbered, new signs posted, information desks installed. Several performing-arts institutions found that attenders preferred different performance times and curtain times were changed. Surveys revealing audience social composition sometimes led to greater publicity among overrepresented groups, at other times to publicity among underrepresented groups. In some cases, statistical findings were less influential than longhand comments elicited at the end of survey questionnaires. Critical assessments of the physical plant were described as particularly useful, since organizations could readily respond to many of the recommendations. The importance of the problem-signalling function of audience studies provides a clue to the lack of relationship between technical quality and utility. Information need not be precise to place an item on an organization's agenda.

Audience research, then, enters the policy process in a number of often unexpected and usually indirect ways. These forms of application generally fall in one of six types of research usage:

Problem-solving function. In a few cases, generally in the area of marketing, research findings are used to guide decisions on specific issues. Targeting promotional expenditures and pricing decisions are typical examples.

Problem-finding function. Frequently, research is used to monitor an organization's activities and environment. Identification of visitor discontent is a common application.

Reinforcement function. Frequently, study findings are used

to back-up or legitimate preferences of arts managers or decisions already in the offing. Reinforcing a decision to alter programming is a characteristic usage.

Attention-focusing function. Sometimes, even when specific research implications are ignored, the research process itself focuses staff attention on some previously slighted issue. The importance of doing research, for instance, is at times only established by the completion of an initial research project.

Expressive function. Occasionally, audience studies are used to represent symbolically commitment to such principles as the importance of marketing or an organization's responsibility to the public.

Lobbying function. In many cases, research findings are used in efforts to persuade government agencies or other institutions to provide financial assistance or otherwise support an arts institution.

Rather than helping managers make specific decisions, the audience studies we assessed usually served to reinforce opinions, persuade outsiders, or focus attention on some general problem area or set of goals. The contribution of research to the managerial process appears to be suggestive or symbolic rather than definitive. When this is the case, research carried out poorly can be as effective as research that is well designed and executed by orthodox standards. Not surprisingly then, the linkage between technical quality and research utility is a tenuous one.

Even in those relatively few cases where research was brought to bear on relatively specific questions, management often had so little information that any input, however rough, could reduce ambiguity and clarify alternatives.

FACTORS AFFECTING RESEARCH UTILIZATION

The research directors and users we interviewed identified a wide range of institutional and situational factors that facilitated or inhibited application of the research results. In general, studies had powerful effects when their findings confirmed the suspicions of arts managers; when an influential person actively sought implementation; when the authority of outside researchers lent legitimacy to their findings; and when researchers were involved on a sustained basis in staff deliberations. Studies failed to make an impact when there was high staff turnover; when organizations lacked the resources to use the findings; when influential individuals were hostile or indifferent to the research; when results were reported in a confusing manner; and when report contents were perceived as trivial or inconclusive.

Facilitating factors. Facilitating factors were of three types: attributes of the study, features of the arts organization applying the results, and the political environment.

Study attributes. The most frequently mentioned of the three were study attributes; they were cited as contributing to research utilization in twelve of the twenty-five studies (Table 4.2). The single most important factor here was whether the research findings fit with the preconceptions of the organization managers (mentioned in eight studies); utilization was high when the research served the reinforcement function discussed above. One study director, for instance, reported that the trustees of a performing-arts festival were initially skeptical about his study because of the

Table 4.2

Frequency of Factors Cited as Affecting Utilization of Audience Research Results

Factor affecting utilization	Number of studies for which factor was cited
Facilitating Factors	
Study attributes--total	12
Fit preconceptions	8
Author[illegible] of outside researchers	4
Surpr[illegible] results	2
Organizational factors--total	11
Support of influential individuals	9
Researcher involved in staff deliberations	4
Small institution provided flexibility for innovation	3
Autonomy of department	1
External political factors--total	4
Politicians needed position legitimation	2
Interest groups needed results for lobbying	2
Inhibiting Factors	
Organizational factors--total	13
Staff turnover broke momentum	11
Lack of resources for implementation	7
Other problems preempted attention	3
	2
Disinterest or hostility	10
Low priority, disinterest	6
Researcher viewed as outsider	4
Hostility to public input	4
Planning	10
Lack of goals	5
No intention to use results	3
Unfortunate timing of research	2

Table continued...

Table 4.2 (continued)

Factor affecting utilization	Number of studies for which factor was cited
Inhibiting Factors (continued)	
Communication and dissemination--total	10
Results delivered without follow-through	6
Report confusing, too long	4
Researchers unavailable for follow-through as time passed	2
Report recipients lacking technical competence	2
Report did not reach right people	1
Conflict between researchers and administrators	1
Report never delivered	1
Report content--total	9
Findings obvious or trivial	4
No study of non-attenders	3
Organization interests changed during time of study	2
Findings outdated	2
Too few questions addressed	1
Lack of negative feedback	1
Study execution--total	8
Inadequate funds	6
Inadequate time	3
Lack of opportunity for managerial input	2
Technical features of study--total	3
Low response rate	2
Small sample	1
Lack of in-house expertise	1

relatively small sample, but nonetheless accepted the findings because they were expected.

The second study-related factor enhancing utility was the authority of the outside researcher (cited in four studies). High authority was derived from affiliation with a prestigious university or reputable marketing or public-opinion firm; in a few instances individuals also benefitted from considerable reputations of their own. Authoritative directorship of the research ensured that technical challenges of the research findings would not be raised and in general provided an air of legitimacy to the research. Thus, one study aimed at local public officials gained credibility from the firm's longstanding track record:

> There was no skepticism over the methods of the study. Most politicians were savy about survey research, since they use it in polling all the time. And the people involved in the study, including myself, were already well known.... We were already highly visible people when we came in to do the study.

In another instance, a museum administrator turned to a well established marketing firm for a visitor study after a previous study had floundered for lack of credibility:

> You have to have a professional prepare the study, both because only a professional, an outsider, can prepare unbiased questions, and only a professional knows the techniques for doing these kinds of studies. People working in museums will prepare biased questions and don't know how to conduct the study.

Experienced outside researchers bring not only the needed technical skills but also the capacity to effectively communicate the results based on statistical procedures. One performing-arts manager in a university town turned to the business school for assistance because "they have much more expertise in designing survey instruments [and] they could explain to me what a

cross-tabulation is, how to understand a chi-square."

The third study-related element was the presence of unexpected results. Surprise findings, while neither confirming nor refuting strong preconceptions, were important in a few instances because they drew attention to new problems (cited in two studies). One study designed to provide ammunition for a struggle over admission charges found that the museum had a preponderance of first-time visitors and drew from a broader public than had been believed. The surprising nature of these incidental findings led the museum to alter its scheduling. In the case of a study of nonvisitors of another museum, all parties involved confessed surprise that nonattenders were not so much hostile to museums as indifferent. The unexpected lack of public antagonism had the effect of increasing managerial optimism about the value of broader marketing.

Although in only two studies were unexpected results explicitly cited as a reason for the study's utility, other evidence suggests that the element of surprise may frequently enhance the likelihood that a study will be applied. In thirteen studies, the results were unexpected by the researchers and managers; in eleven studies they were not. None of the former studies were without impact on some policy area, while four of the latter were deemed to have had virtually no impact.

Personal commitment. The second major set of factors contributing to study utility were related to features of the organization (identified as important in eleven studies). The most critical organizational factor was the research commitment of an administrator in the arts organization (cited in nine studies). Without such a commitment, research was often ignored.[4]

One administrator, who served as advocate for an in-house report told us:

> The only way for these studies to get used is if someone is personally involved and committed to the data. You have to care enough to really push something or it just won't get used. This is true of just about everything in the museum world.

Another museum administrator explained his role in promoting application of a visitor study:

> There is a mandate to implement the report at all levels. [The study director] has the license to roam around the place and complain whenever she sees something being done that goes against the findings of the study. She tries persuasion and happens to be very persuasive, and I stand behind her with a big stick.

Administrative backing of research use was especially critical in small institutions. One manager of a theatrical organization, asked if he faced difficulty in implementing the findings of an in-house study, put the matter succinctly: "No. By virtue of the fact that I was manager of the companies, I could do whatever I wanted to do."

In large institutions, even when key administrators favor utilization, bureaucratic conflicts and resistance can hamper implementation. In one case the relative autonomy of a research-oriented department ensured that application would not be impeded. The marketing director explained: "The way the marketing department works, it's pretty self-contained in this area. We do the research and then we disseminate the information to the areas that would be involved in the relevant [nonmarketing] decisions." More typically, however, supportive managers faced considerable resistance. In several cases sympathetic head administrators dissociated themselves from research in order to avoid further polarizing divided institutions.

Since studies are rarely designed to provide immediate input into specific decisions, their usage is dependent upon repeated reference and a cumulative process of acceptance and learning. This is most likely to occur if an in-house researcher is involved in staff deliberations on a day-to-day basis. One study director, for instance, repeatedly discussed data at staff meetings. For many months no final report was written:

> I purposely didn't want to write a final report or have a final report floating around because that would have created closure on the project. I wanted people to feel that there was a data bank there to be used and possibly added to if there were more questions that needed answers.

In another museum, the key administrator placed the office of the research director next to that of the director of education, to ensure they would frequently encounter one-another in the halls.

External factors. The third set of considerations contributing to the utility of audience studies involved external political factors (cited as important in four of the twenty-five cases). A receptive political climate significantly enhanced the likelihood of application. In two cases, local government officials wanted further rationale for decisions they were already prepared to make. For example, an economic-impact study of performing-arts institutions in one city was done as part of a public relations campaign to justify improved lighting and police protection in the theater district. City leaders were sympathetic—an important city official had, in fact, been mugged in one institution's lobby—and welcomed a study with entirely predictable findings bolstering their position. In two other cases, pre-existing lobbying groups quickly capitalized on results useful to their campaigns. One study director described the use

of his study:

> The communication was largely personal. We talked to key people, particularly on the [lobbying] committee and they talked to the legislature. The financial people would talk to the politicians one by one. The research was never formally presented. The report was very limited in distribution, never presented as a main support, only drawn on when it was useful.

FACTORS PREVENTING UTILIZATION

While many studies saw extensive application, the research directors and users we interviewed also cited a litany of actors that prevented audience studies from being as useful as they might have been. The list of inhibiting factors was long; they can generally be divided among the following general areas: organizational factors, disinterest, planning, communication and follow-through, report content, study execution, and technical features of study (Table 4.2).

Staff turnover and lack of resources. The problem most frequently cited as preventing use had less to do with the studies themselves than with the organizations that commissioned them (identified as important for thirteen studies). Of all the organizational factors hampering implementation, staff turnover, endemic to arts organizations, was the prime culprit. Since the research utilization process, as we have seen, involves building and maintaining commitment, and since arts institutions, perhaps because they are understaffed, seem to rely more on memory and less on memoranda than some other organizations, staff turnover can pose serious problems for research use. In the case of studies of two performing-arts organizations and one museum, administrators most involved with research projects left their institutions and, while the findings were useful to them in their new positions, the studies had no impact on the institutions for which they were designed. In the case of two other museum studies, the administrators who commissioned the research took jobs elsewhere, leaving study directors to face an indifferent or antagonistic staff. One museum went through several directors within three years of a study's

conception. In two instances, the reluctance of caretaker staff to make major decisions during extensive search periods for new directors contributed to visitor studies' disuse.

A second major organizational impediment to study utilization was simply lack of resources to implement recommendations. One museum study was opposed by that institution's education department because, in the study director's words, "It was the attitude that we know what is right and good to do but we can't do it anyway because resources are scarce, so why spend money on this kind of research?" Several arts council administrators felt that studies they had sponsored were inadequately publicized due to lack of staff time. Less directly, low salary levels contributed to the departures of some staff members who might have been instrumental in using study results. But perhaps the most critical scarcity was that of funds to try new programs. A performing-arts institution administrator explained:

> One of the restraints on the implementation of new policy was that [the institution] is just so poor. It was clear that a broad advertising campaign should be developed to attract tourists, but [the institution] didn't have money or staff to do this. Our hands were tied.

In several cases, intervening management or financial crises preempted staff and trustee concern to the extent that research results were lost in the shuffle.

Hostility and disinterest. A second set of factors respondents stressed in accounting for underutilization involved disinterest in or hostility towards research on the part of staff and management (cited for ten studies). In some cases the research director was distrusted as an inexperienced out-

sider. One director of a visitor study was perceived, according to a sympathetic governing-board member, as "an outsider brought in by the trustees. If the staff had their way, all outsiders would be dropped, even the outside auditors; they think they know all they need to know." Similarly, a museum director who had attempted to disseminate the findings of a study of his institution reported:

> There are some senior people in the museum world who literally won't read the report, even in a very short version. I'm friendly with some of these people and they have frankly told me that it is useless and they won't look at it. If you want to remain on friendly terms you just have to laugh it off.

Hostility also exists to social-science research. One museum administrator told us:

> I think audience studies are absolutely hopeless—they are a waste of time and the work force. We tried here to use the questionnaire-type for three different seasons. We would sit somebody down like a stooge to ask them questions, and we used observation, and it was ridiculous. They are no good for anything at all. I'm just predisposed against questionnaires, they're silly. I get ten a week across my desk. They are like macaroni and cheese, you can get it anywhere, and the only question is whose is better.

Distrust of outsiders and social-science methods in general is not exclusive to museums; it was cited by persons involved in theater-and symphony-audience research as well.

In other cases, research use was hampered by staff doubts about the relevance of public input per se. Such positions were cited by several administrators and study directors who had worked in art museums. Several administrators contended that a museum's responsibilities to the public have to be balanced against its duties in the area of scholarship. This position was a source of complaint by one researcher:

> There are people in established positions who feel that it is entirely their prerogative to run the museum on the basis of connoisseurship and that the public's desires couldn't be less relevant. They are very sensitive to art-historical standards; connoisseurship is the religion of curators. They have had a lot of experience with people wanting circuses for the hoi-polloi and they see that as very threatening to their positions. Even a few who are sympathetic are afraid.

One museum official noted that some curators even refused to allow chairs or benches in their galleries after a visitor survey indicated a demand for seating to combat museum fatigue because "they felt that tacky modern furniture would distract the visitors from the beauty of their...masterpieces."

The presence of such attitudes did not render all art-museum studies useless by any means. For one thing, resistance to public input is not universal. Most institutions studied had several staff members or administrators sympathetic to research and the balance of opinion varied widely from place to place. A number of respondents reported that financial hardships were making museum administrators increasingly responsive to public desires. As one administrator explained, interest in planning is increasing as a result of two pressures:

> The first is financial and all the rest can be tied back to this. Financial pressures are facing all cultural organizations. Donors and supporters are demanding a more businesslike approach; you are getting greater sophistication from everyone from trustees to staff.... Also the public is becoming more aware that the museum is a public institution. Pressure comes from the public to make services more readily available and indirect pressures are perceived by the trustees and others.... It comes in the form of pressures from people, verbal discussions, with articles, changes in priorities. Cultural institutions are becoming more important in people's lives, there is more concern with people's

> rights, maybe leisure is more important. It is not like the sixties when black groups applied pressure to museums by direct action; that is not going on now. But it's more like a groundswell—the impetus is internal, it comes from the trustees and management, but that is just a reflection of the present-day world.

In some cases, researchers and research sponsors reported an ability to enhance enthusiasm for or tolerance of research by avoiding questions that might elicit answers threatening to particular staff members, by presenting findings without recommendations, and by including museum staff in research design through soliciting questions and feedback on study plans.

Perhaps more distressing to study directors than even hostility was the frequent indifference to their work. One researcher who carried out a visitor study in a museum (after the director who hired him had left) complained:

> Working in [the museum] was like working in a vacuum. Nobody cared. There were no obstacles, everybody was friendly and nominally cooperative, but they were very worried about the new exhibits and this was taking up their time and energy.... I have no way of knowing if any of the results were surprising, since the report was not read.

A director of an in-house museum study complained, "If I hadn't followed through, the results would have been buried immediately. I had to work hard to get people to even read the report." While such disinterest seemed particularly characteristic of museum administrations, it was by no means restricted to them. The director of a performing-arts audience study said:

> I don't know exactly what use was made of the research.... The report was sent to the [membership group] but I never got any feedback from the board. I also gave it to [administrators and board members] and said I would like to talk to them about it, and that was the last I ever heard from them. I don't even know if they have ever read the whole report.

A performing-arts organization staff member committed to audience research resigned when he called a meeting to present the findings of a study he had commissioned and only one person came. The director of another performing-arts study was actually unable to find someone in the arts organization, which had undergone extensive staff turnover, willing to receive the report.

Research planning. A third set of factors detracting from study utility are related to planning (cited for ten studies). Several researchers and study users complained about the absence of clear research goals. A university-based director of a performing-arts audience study commented that one "factor in explaining its lack of utility is that [the study] was not aimed at any specific problem." Similarly, a museum official, discussing a visitor study in effect 'donated' to his institution, said, "There was a problem in fixing the objectives of the study. [The study director] wanted us to state our objectives, but we found this difficult to do. The questions he finally worked out seemed trivial to us." An academic investigator who directed a cross-sectional study for a local arts council noted:

> There was a fair amount of interest in doing a survey. The problem was a lack of understanding of what a survey could do, a lack of proper expectations--and this was probably our fault, because it's important in market research to establish this first. People didn't really know what to expect--they thought it was a good idea to do a survey and to find out something about the audience, but they have no clear idea about what to use the results for.

In a few cases, studies were planned for internal political reasons with no intention of use. As mentioned previously, some studies were performed to placate membership committees, and one study was reportedly undertaken

largely because of a personal friendship between an administrator and a member of the research firm involved. Finally, two studies suffered from bad timing, unavoidable because of the availability of funds or personnel. A performing-arts institution was surveyed (as part of a larger effort) just before moving into a permanent facility, rendering some of the data irrelevant. The presence of major construction and its attendant problems complicated the administration of one museum study, pushing staff energies to the limits and, those involved speculated, inflating the number of respondents who expressed disappointment in their visits.

Communication and follow-through. Communication and dissemination difficulties constituted a fourth set of factors diminishing research utility (reported to be significant in ten studies). Several study reports were considered too long or confusing by both their authors and recipients (in only one case was a report not prepared). One university-affiliated researcher said:

> The analyses were done by a graduate student working under me.... The student wrote a long report that was really not that well written, and then he and a couple of people at [the arts council sponsoring the research] sent out a pamphlet.... For market research to be really effective, it has to be presented to small groups who have the opportunity to ask questions and really go over the thing. I sort of have the feeling that that never happened in this case.

The director of another arts council that had commissioned an audience study felt that the findings would have been more powerful if the report had been condensed, with fewer statistics. The museum-administrator recipient of one rather technical report of a visitor study confessed that, although he was interested in research and carried the results around for awhile, he found

the report so boring that he never read it. Two study directors complained about their audience's lack of sophistication. "It was apparent that most people [in the museum] didn't have any appreciation for social-science research, of the most basic elements of experimental procedures," observed one researcher. In general, however, researchers with specialized training appeared willing and able to write their reports for an audience of intelligent laypersons.

The key communication problems had to do with an absence of follow-through once the final report was delivered. In each of the three cases in which an arts council or umbrella group sponsored research on a local cross-section or set of audiences, inadequate communication with member arts organizations was identified as a critical defect of the research-policy process. One in-house study director recommended that such studies be seen as two-stage endeavors, the first involving research, the second consisting of workshops and informal communications with specific arts institutions. Another felt that, while a one-day workshop helped to make member institutions more conscious of research, further efforts would have been valuable. In a third case, the director of a performing-arts organization whose audience was surveyed as part of a larger effort complained:

> Quite frankly, I have yet to have [the study] on my desk. I looked at it briefly in [the study director's] office, but it was such a cumbersome thing.... We are absolutely not influenced by it because we have no knowledge at all of what the data did show. That's an important point: make sure that the cooperating institutions get to see the results. That seems simple.

This was not a case of malicious neglect. In fact, the study director, who headed a local umbrella arts group, urged us to speak to the person

quoted above as an example of someone who had used the report's findings to good effect. Yet the arts administrator had not seen the results—"I've asked for the results about four or five times and I'm not going to ask anymore, I have other things to do"—and was quite indignant.[5]

Lack of follow-through was also cited by one study director and one research user as a danger inherent in the use of student labor. A performing-arts manager said of a study undertaken with the help of a business-school student:

> I have a strong sense that there was other data we had not dragged out, that there was more there than we were able to make use of. The hazard of using a student is that once her second year got underway, like us, she got busier and busier and less able to work with us—that was a liability. If we do it again and cannot afford to hire a professional group who will do it in an elaborate fashion, if we do use students again, I am pretty sure that we will assign it to someone and make it part of a course load for a full year, not simply a means of summer support.

Our interviews, as well as the experience of many studies not considered here, indicate that graduate students and, in some cases undergraduates, represent an important resource to organizations that cannot afford to hire professionals. But when student labor is used it is essential to make sure that students have sufficient expertise, that they receive adequate supervision, and that they will hold themselves accountable for providing a high-quality finished product and be available to participate in follow-through research, interpretation, or dissemination.[6]

Report content. A fifth impediment to research implemenation had to do with the content of the reports themselves (identified as important for nine studies). In two cases findings were perceived as outdated due to managerial

perceptions of audience change. In two other instances, research users stated that results were inconclusive or obvious, in another case that results were unexpected but of trivial importance, and in yet another that findings were "not dramatic" enough to make a difference. To some extent, these responses reflect initial hostility to research or, conversely, inflated initial hopes.

In several other cases report content was deemed unsatisfactory for relatively specific reasons. In the case of one multi-institutional analysis, the priorities of the sponsoring art council had changed to an interest in studies tailored to the needs of specific member institutions by the time the report was delivered. (The study had already served its primary purpose of publicizing the council before its findings were available.) A museum abandoned a major planning effort, rendering the visitor study conducted in conjunction with the effort less immediately usable. Users of three studies, one of several performing-arts events and two of museums, regretted that the studies they had sponsored were not of wider scope; they were interested in the characteristics and attitudes of non-attenders, who had not been included in the study, as well as of those who used their institutions. To some extent, this may have reflected the fact that as managers become involved in the research process, their questions grow more sophisticated and become better defined. Finally, in-house directors of two museum studies regretted the relative paucity of negative evaluation from visitors, since specific criticism was considered particularly useful to management.

Study execution. Study execution (cited for eight studies) was a

sixth factor accounting for less than optimal study utility. Directors or users of four studies felt that study funding was inadequate. One art-council staff member felt a stronger study could have been conducted had money been available to survey nonattenders. An in-house museum researcher reported that his survey had been underutilized in part due to the absence of funds for computerized data analysis. Another study director who had volunteered his services acknowledged that his commitment to the project was undermined by the lack of monetary compensation: "I was too busy to pay much attention to [the data analysis] and I was involved in a number of other projects. Frankly, if I had been paid it would have been different." Two study directors regarded the level of expenditure on audience studies as an important index of an institution's commitment to the research process, which affected the inclination of the institution to use the results. An in-house study director for a performing-arts festival observed that "if the project had been given more money [by the board] the study would have had more impact because the trustees would have expected more from it." Similarly, an outside director of a study of a major performing-arts institution, with much experience in market research, reported:

> The study was viewed as cheap by [the institution], which had the effect of lowering the commitment as well. When organizations are not paying for the product, they are less committed to using it.

In general, however, few of the directors or managers interviewed felt that more money would have noticeably improved their studies or made them more easily utilized. It has already been seen in the previous chapter that in our sample level of funding was the major determinant of audience-study technical quality, but had no impact on utility.

Two of the arts managers stated that research on their institutions' audiences had little impact because they lacked an opportunity to affect the study's design. In most cases, however, both in-house and outside study directors reported soliciting user involvement in the design of the study. Usually, outside researchers consulted closely with key administrators, and in-house research advocates tried to draw as many staff and administrators as possible into survey planning. As one researcher put it, such consultation was necessary "to establish a political environment in which I could proceed."

Technical quality. The final category of factors cited as diminishing study utility consists of issues related to technical quality. In contrast to the extensive attention given such matters as organizational problems, administrative and staff attitudes, communication and dissemination, and planning, references to technical quality were almost entirely missing from our interviews; low quality was mentioned as a problem for utility in interveiws about only three of the twenty-five studies. What is more, references to such factors as sample size, low response rate, and lack of in-house research expertise in these three instances involved casual, off-handed observations. Although the studies reveiwed varied widely in quality and many were poor by conventional social-research standards, in no case was low technical quality cited as a major reason for disuse. In fact, all three research users who mentioned that defects in technical quality affected utility were nonetheless among those who found their studies useful for specific managerial decisions. Furthermore, those reporting the greatest amount of hostility or indifference to

research they had conducted or commissioned universally noted that objections or skepticism were based on nonmethodological grounds. As one study director put it: "I was anxious to be challenged on the methodological quality of the work. Whenever someone said something slighting in a staff meeting, I would call him on it, but they invariably withdrew."

If hostility towards research findings was never expressed on methodological grounds, neither were methodological deficiencies much cause for distress when they were noted. An in-house researcher referred to a first study as "stabbing in the dark," "a first feeble attempt at research," and stated that he was currently working with university researchers to develop a more sophisticated program. Nonetheless, he used the earlier study to suggest marketing changes that were implemented, in part by only believing those results that were both very strongly reported and that he himself found plausible. A board of trustees overlooked the small sample surveyed in a performing-arts audience study because "the findings pretty much were expected."

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The lack of concern with methodology evinced by users in arts organizations may partly reflect a lack of training and experience in research technique and utilization. Yet the willingness of arts managers to accept findings of research that does not meet regular technical standards is in large part a rational response to three aspects of the environment in which arts organizations function. First, most art organizations have little time, money, or experience and could not strive to undertake high-quality research even if they wanted to. Second, most arts organizations have had virtually no systematic information about the composition, attitudes, or habits of their audiences; any increment in knowledge can be valuable. Third, lack of concern with technical quality reflects a recognition of the way in which research findings actually enter into the decision process in arts organizations—as marginal, indirect, reinforcing, suggestive, expressive, or symbolic inputs that depend little on the precise technical methods employed.

Seen this way, the absence of a correlation between study technical quality and study utility discovered in the previous chapter is neither as mysterious as it seemed nor cause for great dismay. Nonetheless, if bad research can be good, good research can be better. High quality audience research can be more routinely generated and used, first, if arts managers become committed to using it regularly in policy deliberations and planning. Before this will occur, the arts must receive the resources necessary to do systematic planning and some consensus must be reached on

the role that audience information should play in it. Second, an information infrastructure must be created in which both basic and applied research is conducted and widely disseminated throughout the art world. Until arts managers can easily draw on a pool of information and cumulative knowledge about the nature and habit of American arts consumers, they will continue to reinvent the wheel in its most rudimentary form. In the absence of staff continuity, a professional research memory must serve in place of many transient individual ones. Third, an institutionalized arrangement must be developed that will permit arts organizations that cannot afford their own high-quality research to get the information they need. Local arts-research consortiums, much like cooperative arts fund-raising drives, should be established and their limits and possibilities tested. Finally, as part of this effort, managers must increase their acquaintanceship with social-research methods through short tutorials or other means. The services of individuals literate in research methods should be made available to institutions that are without access to them.

Certainly, there is some cause for optimism. Our formal interviews and informal conversations have convinced us that a combination of financial privation and more general philosophical change is increasing the importance of planning and research in arts management. The research activities of the National Endowment for the Arts and other agencies may in time provide the infrastructure needed to minimize redundant research and reduce the cloud of uncertainty under which arts managers operate. And the development of programs in arts administration and the appeal of arts management to individuals with other kinds of business and social-

science training promises to raise the level of technical knowledge upon which arts organizations can profitably draw. There is, then, reason to believe that if a study similar to this one is carried out in ten years, its findings will be different from those reported here.

1. Only post-1973 studies were included to ensure that respondent recollections were relatively fresh; the regional restriction was imposed to minimize data-collection costs. However, the time restriction resulted in the exclusion of all examples of several major types of studies, and the geographic restriction was therefore relaxed to include five midwestern studies so that all types of audience studies were represented among our interviews.

2. The idea of research as discourse is developed by Cohen and Garet (1975) in an essay on social-science research and federal educational policy.

3. For a discussion of the contribution of research to problem-setting at the federal level, see Rein and White (1977).

4. On the importance of leadership in the utilization of federal health-program evaluations, see Patton et al. (1977).

5. Although cooperative audience-research efforts hold the promise of facilitating rigorous and comparable studies of organizations that lack the time or expertise to undertake them alone, there is little evidence that this potential has yet been realized. This seems true, first, because such studies are usually carried out for broadly political purposes and second, because local councils or other consortium organizations lack the staff and resources to provide an adequate account of research findings and to help member organizations make use of them.

6. On the positive value of research alliances with university faculty and students see Wainwright (1973).

CHAPTER 5: AN AGENDA FOR ARTS AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Perhaps the first priority for audience research as a whole should be the routine gathering of descriptive statistics about the audience over time. Such statistics could be gathered through a regular national survey of audiences for a stratified random sample of arts institutions. Thus far, the population of arts institutions has not been fully specified; however, improvements in the Census of Business, which in 1977 included museums (in addition to performing arts institutions) for the first time, and the economic data series under consideration by the National Endowment for the Arts may make systematic sampling possible in the future. Institutions included in the survey should be stratified by such variables as art type, region, degree of urbanization. programming policy, amateur versus professional status, and ticket price. Community-based and predominantly minority institutions, as well as free and outdoor events, should be included.

While studies performed by individual institutions or sets of institutions must be designed locally to address the specific needs of the organizations sponsoring them, care in question design can increase the wider utility of such surveys by enhancing their comparability to previous research, and, in so doing, permit those who undertake them to contrast their own audiences with existing baseline data. In general, demographic categories can be patterned after census categorization schemes, with additional categories added as needed. When conventional categorization schemes are not used, then the use of many categories for such variables as education and occupation is preferable since it is often possible to merge response groups for purposes of comparison.

In sampling audience members, it is important to stress that forms should be completed by those who actually receive them, and not other members of their party or family. Such a practice, for example, would minimize any biasing effects of tendencies for older men (or women) to take on questionnaire-completion tasks for other family members. Questions on educational attainment should differentiate between high-school and non-high-school graduates, between individuals with some college, graduates of two-year colleges, graduates of four-year colleges, and those with graduate training or degrees. Categorizing occupations is difficult at best: use of standard census categories in pre-coded questionnaires, or requests for precise occupational descriptions to be coded by investigators with reference to census listings would minimize confusion in this area. Researchers may also reduce response error by specifying that the respondent be currently employed at least one-half time in the occupation reported. Where income information is requested, family income should be specified. Where racial or ethnic information is requested, categories should be made specific and unambiguous: the category "nonwhite," for example, may invite ambiguous responses and miss important differences.

Local organizations can also increase the information gained from surveys greatly with only marginal added effort by making greater use of cross-tabulations—that is, joint frequency distributions in which audience members are placed in cells formed by cross-classifying two or more variables. Cross-tabulations require little statistical training and they can be used to answer a wide range of managerial and other questions. For example, if one wants to see if those audience members reporting lower educational attainment are primarily young people continuing their education, one can do a

cross-tabulation of age and education. If one wants to assess an audience's occupational level independent of gender, one can cross-tabulate gender and occupation. A manager who wishes to predict the effect on audience composition of an across-the-board increase in ticket prices can gain some insight by cross-tabulating ticket price and education (or occupation or income) and comparing those in the most expensive seats to those in the least expensive. A marketing specialist seeking to target resources at a particular income group can cross-tabulate income and source of information to see if different advertising vehicles reach different kinds of visitors or attenders. In addition to using cross-tabulations, researchers can inexpensively increase the information yielded by surveys in two other ways: demographic frequencies can be compared to census frequencies for metropolitan residents as a whole; and visits and visitors can be distinguished by asking respondents to note how many times they have attended an institution over a suitable time period (such as the previous twelve months).

Local organizations should be urged to publicize their own research findings and to make them available to other arts organizations. In general, arts institutions do not appear to be competing for the same dollars; individuals who attend one art form or institution frequently also seem to attend others frequently as well. Promotional energies may more profitably go towards expanding the total arts market for an area than towards dividing up the existing public. At any rate, audience studies rarely contain enough surprising, embarassing, or definitive information to give an institution a competitive edge. Although we offered to maintain audience studies collected for this study on a confidential basis, we had few requests to

do so, and such requests were almost always related to a specific and unusual institutional consideration. In most cases, then, those who undertake studies seem willing to disseminate their results. What is needed is a clearinghouse for such research, through which organizations can share audience research to their mutual benefit.

In addition to the need for comparable descriptive data on audiences over time, more focused studies are needed to address a number of other critical questions about arts audiences. Many of the arts managers we spoke with stressed their desire for information about nonattenders, the people that direct audience surveys can never reach (though cross-sectional studies, of course, do so). Do individuals fail to attend museums and the live performing arts because of disinterest, antipathy, inconvenience, prices or discomfort? Such information is critical to attempts to enlarge the market for the arts and to meet the public's desire for greater accessibility to the arts. In general, people who do <u>not</u> do something have given little thought to their motivations, or nonmotivations as the case may be. To understand nonattendance it is probably necessary to go beyond questionnaires to relatively in-depth interviews that will get beyond initial responses to reach deeper motivations. Depending upon the targets of a market-development plan, such studies may be focused on individuals demographically similar to attenders (for example, their next-door neighbors) or on individuals from socioeconomic groups with low attendance rates.

Research on the relationship of attendance at one art form to attendance at others indicates that, except perhaps for theater-goers, aficionados of one art form also attend others. Such research, however, is at its rudi-

mentary stages. Is there one arts audience or many? Do conditions vary from city to city? For example, do major arts centers like New York have multiple publics while smaller cities have a single cultural public? Futhermore, what is the responsiveness of arts attendance to not only price but also content? If the opera raises its ticket price or alters its programming, will audiences go to the theater? Will they stay home and watch television? If an art museum changes its exhibits policies or raises its admission fee, will visitors go to science museums instead? To the aquarium or a football game? It has been observed that television viewers watch television rather than tuning in specific programs selectively. Is the situation similar in the arts? To what extent can institutions use program changes to draw larger or new audiences, or experiment with new offerings without fear of losing the existing audience? These are things that we know little about.

Many people in the arts have stressed a need to expand audiences to include those not already reached. Although the audiences analyzed in this study tended to share such characteristics as high educational attainment, large percentages of professionals and small participation by blue-collar workers, high incomes, and low minority attendance, there were some striking exceptions. Intensive analysis of institutions that draw on unusually wide audiences may provide insights that other organizations can use.

An often useful but neglected methodology is the quasi-experimental design. If an institution is contemplating some change in price, performance time, or program policy and wants to assess its effect on audience composition, controlled studies of audiences before and after limited changes can be of great value. In such research it is important to consider

alternative explanations for any change found; if this is done, pre-test/post-test studies can be a powerful management tool.

Another issue about which little is known and much curiosity exists is the process of socialization into arts attendance: how early does it begin, how important is the family, and how important is the school? One easy way to begin to assess the importance of family background is to ask respondents questions about their parents: we know nothing about the relationship between a person's father's or mother's educational attainment or occupation and his or her participation in arts audiences. If the attendance habit is acquired early in life, family background may be almost as important as one's own education or occupation.

A more thorough examination of socialization into the arts must go beyond surveys to more focused interviews and studies of children and teenagers. We know that a person's educational attainment is the best predictor of his or her attendance at museums and live performing-arts events. But why is this so? Is it because people who stay in school a long time come from families where the arts are cultivated from an early age? Is it because formal training in the arts in high schools and colleges creates an appetite for the real thing? Is it because colleges provide students with a culturally oriented peer group and large quantities of free time? Or is it some combination of these and perhaps other factors? At this point we do not know.

If there are many serious gaps in our knowledge about the public for museums and for the live performing arts, we know even less about the public for the arts in other forms. How many people enjoy theater, dance, opera, and classical music on television and radio? Are these the same people

who attend live performances or is it an entirely different group? Do media presentations serve as a substitute for live performances and exhibits, or do they only whet consumers' appetites? (The interested reader should consult Arts and Cultural Programs on Radio and Television by Natan Katzman and Kenneth Wirt (1977).) What about art books and phonograph records? Harold Rosenberg (1966: 201) has written, "For a sound art education we need to augment our knowledge through art books and develop our ignorance through works of art." Are such mechanical reproductions a supplement to or substitute for visits to art museums and nights at the opera? Until we learn more about those who consume the arts in their non-live forms, we only speculate about the size and breadth of the arts audience as a whole.

Implementing these suggestions will require a great deal of commitment, money, and planning, at every level of the arts world. The kind of research to be conducted and the extent of research carried out is ultimately a matter to be decided on the basis of values and priorities. For example, while research has usually revealed that the arts attenders are wealthier, better educated, and employed in more prestigeful occupations than the public at large, audience research cannot indicate whether this situation is good, bad, or indifferent. Some institutions are committed to broadening the social composition of the audience, and it seems clear that such efforts can bear fruit. Among the studies we assembled were a few of audiences containing far more diverse than normal cross-sections of the American public; and, even in the midst of the Depression, audiences for the Federal Theater Project included many employed blue-collar workers. Other institutions have found it easier, and financially critical, to develop further those segments of the public already attending. Different priorities for expansion dictate differing research designs. Such priorities must be made explicit if research is to be of optimal utility.

Ultimately, at least at the local level, research is part of a process of planning and administration, and planning is something relatively new to the arts, about which there is some disagreement. Planning and research both cost money. Optimal development and utilization of arts audience research will require money to develop a research infrastructure, money for staff time to execute and follow through the implications of research, and money to permit institutions now living from crisis to crisis to become involved in long-range planning. Arts institutions have some capacity to improve the research process by shifting their own priorities; but, ultimately, systematic use of research on a wide scale, after the fashion of many government agencies and private industry, may be prohibitively expensive. The level of resources allocated to the arts from among competing national priorities is, of course, a product of the political process, and the constraints of this process will, indirectly, critically shape the role that such research can play.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbey, D. S. and Duncan F. Cameron

1959 The museum visitor: I—survey design. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

1960 The museum visitor: II—survey results. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

1961 The museum visitor: III—supplementary studies. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

American Association of Museums

1972 Museums: their new audience. Washington, D.C.

The Arts, Education and Americans Panel

1977 Coming to our senses: the significance of the arts for American education. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Baumol, William and William Bowen

1966 The performing arts: the economic dilemma. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press.

Bernstein, Ilene N., editor

1976 Validity issues in evaluative research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Bernstein, Ilene N. and Howard E. Freeman

1975 Academic and entrepreneurial research: the consequences of diversity in federal evaluation studies. New York: Russell Sage.

Book, S. H. and S. Globerman

1975 The audience for the performing arts: a study of attendance patterns in Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Arts Council.

Bracht, Glenn H. and Gene V. Glass

1968 The external validity of experiments. American Educational Research Journal 5 (November): 437-474.

Cameron, Duncan F. and D. S. Abbey

1960a Visits versus visitors: an analysis. Museum News 29 (3): 34-35.

1960b Investigating a museum's audience. The Museologist 77 (December): 2-7.

1961 Museum audience research. Museum News 39: 34-38.

1962 Museum audience research: the effect of an admission fee. Museum News 41 (November): 25-28.

Campbell, Donald T. and Julian C. Stanley

1966 Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Caplan, Nathan

1976 Social research and national policy: what gets used, by whom, for what purposes, and with what effects? International Social Science Journal 28: 187-194.

Caplan, Nathan, Andrea Morrison, and Russell J. Stambaugh

1975 The use of social science knowledge in policy decisions at the national level. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research.

Caro, Francis G., editor

1971 Readings in evaluation research. New York: Russell Sage.

Cohen, David K. and Michael S. Garet

1975 Reforming educational policy with applied social research. Harvard Educational Review 45 (February): 17-41.

Cwi, David and Katharine Lyall

forthcoming, 1978 A model to assess the local economic effects of arts institutions: user manual and Baltimore case study. Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Arts.

de Borhegyi, Stephan F. and Irene A. Hanson, editors

1968 The museum visitor: selected essays and surveys of visitor reaction to exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum.

DiMaggio, Paul and Michael Useem

In press Social class and arts consumption. Theory and Society.

Gans, Herbert

1974 Popular culture and high culture: an analysis and evaluation of taste. New York: Basic Books.

Gephart, William J.

1965 Development of an instrument for evaluating reports for educational research. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.

Gordon, Gerald, and Edward V. Morse

1975 Evaluation research. In Alex Inkeles, ed., Annual review of sociology. Palo Alto: Annual Reviews Inc., pp. 339-361.

Gruenberg, Barry

1975 How free is free time? Analysis of some determinants of leisure activity patterns. Unpublished manuscript. Middletown: Department of Sociology, Wesleyan University.

Johnson, Alton C. and E. Arthur Prieve

1976 Older Americans: the unrealized audience for the arts. Madison: Center for Arts Administration.

Katzman, Natan and Kenneth Wirt

1977 Arts and cultural programs on radio and television. Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Arts.

Kerlinger, Fred N.

1973 Foundations of behavioral research. 2nd edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lin, Nan

1976 The foundations of social research. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Logan, Olive

1871 The mimic world and public exhibitions: their history, their morals, and effects. Philadelphia: New World Publishing.

Mann, J.

1972 The outcome of evaluative research. In Carol H. Weiss, ed., Evaluating action programs. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, pp. 267-282.

Mann, P. H.

1966 Surveying a theatre audience: methodological problems. British Journal of Sociology 17: 380-387.

McTavish, Donald G. et al.

1977 Assessing research methodology: the structure of professional assessments of methodology. Sociological methods and research (forthcoming).

Morison, Bradley and Kay Fliehr

1968 In search of an audience: how an audience was found for the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre. New York: Pitman Publishing.

1974 Reach: a new method of measuring an audience. In Alvin H. Reiss, Arts Management Handbook. New York: Law-Arts Publishers, pp. 126-129.

Newgren, Donald

1972 A standardized museum survey: a methodology for museums to gather decision-oriented information. Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

O'Hare, Michael

1974 The audience of the Museum of Fine Arts. Curator 17 (June): 126-158.

Patton, Michael Q. et al.

1977 In search of impact: an analysis of the utilization of federal health evaluation research. In Carol H. Weiss, ed., Using social research in public policy making. Lexington: Heath, pp. 141-163.

Persell, Caroline Hodges

1971 The quality of research on education: an empirical study of researchers and their work. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research.

Rein, Martin and Sheldon White

1977 Policy research: belief and doubt. Policy Analysis 3 (Spring): 239-271.

Robinson, Edward S.

1930 Psychological problems of the science museum. Museum News 8 (5): 9-11.

Rosenberg, Harold

1966 The anxious object: art today and its audience. New York: Collier Books.

Rossi, Peter H. and Walter Williams, editors

1972 Evaluating social programs: theory, practice, and politics. New York: Seminar Press.

Simon, Herbert A.

1965 Administrative behavior. New York: Free Press, 1965.

Theatre Communications Group

1967 Toward a new audience: a report on a continuing workshop in audience development. New York.

Tocqueville, Alexis de

1956 Democracy in America. New York: New American Library.

Toffler, Alvin

1965 The culture consumers. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

van de Vall, Mark

1975 Utilization and methodology of applied social research: four complementary models. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 11 (1): 14-38.

van de Vall, Mark, Cheryl Bolas, and Tai S. King

1976 Applied social research in industrial organizations: an evaluation of functions, theory, and methods. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 12 (April-May-June): 158-177.

Veblen, Thorstein

1899 The theory of the leisure class: an economic study in the evaluation of institutions. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Wainwright, June M.

1973 Symphony orchestras and marketing research programs. Vienna, Va.: American Symphony Orchestra League.

Weiss, Carol H., editor

1972 Evaluation research: methods of assessing program effectiveness. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Weiss, Carol H. and Michael J. Bucuvalas

1977 The challenge of social research to decision making. In Carol H. Weiss, ed., Using social research in public policy making. Lexington: Heath, pp. 213-233.

Yin, Robert K., Eveleen Bingham, and Karen A. Heald

1976 The difference that quality makes: the case of literature reviews. Sociological Methods & Research 5 (November): 139-156.

Yin, Robert K. and D. Yates

1975 Street-level governments: assessing decentralization and urban services. Lexington: Heath.

STUDIES

1 Kimmel, Peter S. and Mark J. Maves. "Public Reaction to Museum Interiors," Museum News 51(1): 17-19 (Sept. 1972).

Twelve museums and galleries in the San Francisco-Oakland area.

2 Smits, Edward J. "A Suburban Museum Looks at Its Visitors," Museum News 42: 30-34 (May 1964).

See also #'s 200, 204

Nassau County Museum on Long Island.

3 Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc. A Study of Out-of-Town Visitors to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sept. 1975, 38p.

See also #'s 230, 250

4 Arts Administration Research Institute. "The Economic Impact of Boston's Legitimate Theaters." (Preliminary Report.) Cambridge: Arts Administration Research Institute, Dec. 1974, 9p.

5 Haacke, Hans. "Hans Haacke's Gallery Visitors' Profile," Artforum 11: 44-45 (June 1973).

Boice, Bruce. Comments on Haacke's survey, Artforum 11: 46 (June 1973).

John Weber Gallery in New York City.

6 Gardner, Howard and Lynn Goldsmith. Final Report to the National Endowment for the Arts Regarding the Visiting Specialist Grant. Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Sept. 1975, 75p.

See also #247

7 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. Americans and the Arts: A Survey of Public Opinion. New York: Associated Councils of the Arts, 1975, 162p.

National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. Americans and the Arts: Highlights From a Survey of Public Opinion. New York: Publishing Center for Cultural Resources (available from ACA Publications, P.O. Box 4764, Tulsa, OK 74104), 1974, 36p.

See also #137

Nationwide public opinion survey for Associated Councils of the Arts.

8 Baumol, William J. and William G. Bowen. "Chapter IV: The Audience" and "Appendix IV-1: Audience Survey Methods." In William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, Performing Arts--the Economic Dilemma. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1966. pp. 71-97, 443-467.

Boston Symphony Orchestra. "Audience Survey - 1964 (print-outs), Baumol & Bowen (20th Century Fund Study on the Economics of the Performing Arts)." Separate print-outs for Feb. 16, Mar. 9, Mar. 19, Mar. 24, Mar. 28, Apr. 5, and Apr. 10, 1964. Boston: Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1964, 7p.

National multi-art-form survey.

9 Kaali-Nagy, Christina and Lee G. Garrison. "Profiles of Users and Non-users of the Los Angeles Music Center," California Management Review 15(2): 133-143 (Winter 1972).

10 Raymond, Thomas C., Stephen A. Greyser, and Douglas Schwalbe. "Broome County Veterans Memorial Auditorium and Performing Arts Theatre (B)." In Thomas C. Raymond et al., Cases in Arts Administration. Cambridge: Institute of Arts Administration, July 1971 pp. 1-18

Tauber, Edward M. and P. Weissenberg. "Audience Development for Community Theater: Opinion Leaders and Word of Mouth Communication," Performing Arts Review 2(3): 525-534 (1971).

See also #71

New York--survey of all county arts events for 1970 season.

11 [Leo Burnett Company, Inc.] "The Impact of Chicago's Museum Visitors on the City's Economy." Prepared for Council of Museum Directors. [Chicago: Leo Burnett Company, Inc.], Jan. 1977, 18p.

See also #'s 135, 136, 179-182, 236, 242, 243

12 Washburne, Randel F. and J. Alan Wagar. "Evaluating Visitor Response to Exhibit Content," Curator 15(3): 248-254 (Sept. 1972).

See also #'s 232, 233

Study in four park visitor centers in the Pacific Northwest.

13 Langley, Stephen. "Chapter Thirteen: Community Relations." In Stephen Langley, Theatre Management in America: Principle and Practice. New York: Drama Book Specialists/Publishers, 1974. pp. 275-288.

Conducted by Theatre Division of Brooklyn College on six performance nights of a major production.

14 Cerami, Joseph M. "Chapter V: Audience Profiles for Selected Music, Drama, and Opera Performances at Long Island Colleges 1969-1970." In Allan Easton, Community Support of the Performing Arts--Selected Problems of Local and National Interest. Hofstra University Yearbook of Business, Series 7, V. 5. New York: Hofstra University, 1970. pp. 252-284.

15 Shettel, Harris H. and Pamela C. Reilly. An Evaluation of Existing Criteria for Judging the Quality of Science Exhibits. Pittsburgh: American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Nov. 1965, 81p. (Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, TID-22703/General Miscellaneous, and Progress Reports (TID-4500).)

Shettel, Harris H. "Exhibits: Art Form or Educational Medium?" Museum News 52(1): 32-41 (Sept. 1973).

Responses to effectiveness of U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Atoms in Action exhibit (designed in American Museum of Atomic Energy, Oak Ridge, Tennessee).

16 Johnson, David A. "Museum Attendance in the New York Metropolitan Region," Curator 12(3): 201-230 (Sept. 1969).

Interviews of visitors to six museums.

17 O'Hare, Michael. "The Audience of the Museum of Fine Arts," Curator 17(2): 126-159 (June 1974).

_____. "The Public's Use of Art—Visitor Behavior in an Art Museum," Curator 17(4): 309-320 (Dec. 1974).

_____. "Why Do People Go to Museums: The Effect of Prices and Hours on Museum Utilization." Working Paper. Cambridge: Laboratory of Architecture and Planning, School of Architecture and Planning, MIT, Aug. 1974, 22p.

See also #224

Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

18 Kaiser, Michael. Letter to C. Richardson, Skylight Theatre, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, dated Jan. 12, 1975, 3p.

Includes copy of profile comparing Skylight Theatre audience with aggregate data for other regional and major opera companies.

19 Permaloff, Anne et al. "A Survey of Patrons of the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts." Paper submitted to Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, April 15, 1976. Montgomery: Auburn University, 1976, 29p.

20 Ballet West. "Statistics of Ballet West Aspen Poll." Computer print-out. Salt Lake City: Ballet West, n.d.

21 Trumpet in the Land. "An Analysis of Audience Questionaires From the 1975 Season of Trumpet in the Land." Mimeographed. Dover, Ohio: Trumpet in the Land, [1975], 3p.

See also #221

22 Dourdounas, George (John R. Bayless and William E. Crocken, project directors). "Initial Pilot Survey of Rural Central Pennsylvania." University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1975, 10p.

_____. "Survey Results." University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1975, 10p.

See also #'s 74, 150

Mail survey for Pennsylvania State Festival Theatre.

23 Billings Symphony Orchestra. Copy of questionnaire and summary of results of audience survey taken Apr. 27, 1975. Billings, Mont.: Billings Symphony Orchestra, 1975, 3p.

24 Ellis, John W. "American Shakespeare Theatre Audience Questionnaire, 1975 Season: Response Analysis, Introductory Material." Stratford, Conn.: American Shakespeare Theatre, 1975, 9p. (No data.)

_____. "The Economic Impact of the American Shakespeare Theatre on Stratford, Connecticut." Stratford, Conn.: American Shakespeare Theatre, 1975, 7p.

25 Fife, Camille. "Indiana Repertory Theatre Audience Survey, 1975-76 Season." Report. Indianapolis: Indiana Repertory Theatre, 1976, 24p.

26 New Jersey Shakespeare Festival. "New Jersey Shakespeare Festival - Audience Questionnaire Responses, July 5th through August 19, 1972." Madison, N.J.: New Jersey Shakespeare Festival, 1972, 4p.

See also #27

27 Rodgers, F. L. Memorandum from F. L. Rodgers to Executive Committee Re. "Telephone Survey," dated Jan. 22, 1974 and "Summary of Telephone Interviews." Madison, N.J.: New Jersey Shakespeare Festival, 1974, 5p. + 3p.

See also #26

Interviews with renewed and non-renewed subscribers and individual play attenders.

28 [Foran and Greer, Inc.] "Blossom Survey, 1974." Results. Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio: Blossom Music Center, 1974, 2p.

Cleveland Symphony Orchestra.

29 Byrne, June F. Letter to Richard Thomas of the Milwaukee Symphony, dated Aug. 10, 1976. Attachments are a summary table and questionnaire. Madison, Wisc.: Graduate School of Business, Center for Arts Administration, University of Wisconsin, 1976, 3p.

Byrne, June F. et al. Highlighting the Economics of Not-for-Profit Arts Organizations. Madison, Wisc.: Wisconsin Arts Council, Inc., 1976, 8p.

Respondents were 140 non-profit arts organizations in Wisconsin (includes survey form used for fourteen audiences to document economic impact of the arts).

30 DeLuca, Barbara and Carol Bullard. Arts and Arts-Related Organizations in the Capital District: The Structure and Function of the Organizations Themselves; The Nature and Needs of the Audiences They Serve; The Pattern, Impact, and Potential of Their Funding. Albany: Albany League of Arts, 1976, 90p.

31 Rochester Museum and Science Center. 1973-74 Visitors Survey. Report. Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Museum and Science Center, 1974, 26p.

32 CONFIDENTIAL

33 Shettel, Harris H. "Exhibits: Art Form or Educational Medium?" Museum News 52(1): 32-41 (Sept. 1973).

Vision of Man traveling exhibit effectiveness study.

34 Prague, Rochelle H. "The University Museum Visitor Survey Project," Curator 17(3): 207-212 (Sept. 1974).

Interviews, behavioral observation and questionnaires of visitors to University Museum in Philadelphia.

35 deBorhegyi, Stephen F. "Testing of Audience Reaction to Museum Exhibits," Curator 8(1): 86-93 (Dec. 1965). Also in Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 75-80.

Parsons, Lee A. "Systematic Testing of Display Techniques for an Anthropological Exhibit." In Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 81-98.

See also #'s 47, 106-109

36 Nielsen, Richard. Questionnaire for Krannert Center for the Performing Arts Audience Survey. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, n.d., 19p.

N[ie]lsen, Richard P. "Types of Theatre Information and Marketing-Audience Development Among the Alienated," Performing Arts Review 14(1-2): 44-57 (1973).

Nielsen, Richard P. and Charles McQueen. "Attendance Types of Performing Arts Events and Explanations for Attendance and Non-Attendance at the Krannert Center for the Performing Arts." Paper. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, n.d., 18p.

Nielsen, Richard P. and Charles McQueen. "Audience Segments of the Krannert Center for the Performing Arts." Paper. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, n.d., 14p.

_____. "Performing Arts Consumer Behavior: An Exploratory Study." Paper. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, n.d., 19p.

Nielsen, Richard P., Charles McQueen, and Angela B. Nielsen. "Public Policy and Attitudes on Tax Support for Live Artistic Communications Media," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, April 1976, pp. 149-160.

Nielsen, Richard P., Angela B. Nielsen, and Charles McQueen. "Attendance Types of Performing Arts Events and Explanations for Attendance and Non-attendance," Performing Arts Review 6(1): 43-69 (1975).

_____. "Explanations for Public's Willingness to Pay Additional Taxes for Support of the Arts," Performing Arts Review 5(3-4): 199-209 (1974).

_____. "Performing Arts Audience Segments: A Case Study," Performing Arts Review 6(2): 301-312 (1975-76).

Champaign and Urbana, Ill. home survey.

37 Moore, Thomas Gale. "V: The Audience." In Thomas Gale Moore, The Economics of the American Theater. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1968. pp. 69-89.

See also #98

Description of 1960 Playbill-sponsored survey of Broadway theatergoers.

38 Moore, Thomas Gale. "V: The Audience." In Thomas Gale Moore, The Economics of the American Theater. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1968. pp. 69-89.

_____. "New Audience Survey Identifies Playgoers." In Alvin H. Reiss, Arts Management Handbook. New York: Law-Arts Publishers, 1974. pp. 142-144.

_____. "Non-Newspaper Advertising Brings Few Theatregoers to Broadway Plays." In Alvin H. Reiss, Arts Management Handbook. New York: Law-Arts Publishers, 1974. pp. 146-149.

1962 survey of audiences in seven Broadway theaters.

39 Farrell, Joseph. Letter to Janet Gracey and Richard Kirshner, dated Apr. 17, 1973. In Theatre Development Fund, An American Dance Theatre. New York: Theatre Development Fund, n.d. 7p.

National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. Arts and the People: A Survey of Public Attitudes and Participation in the Arts and Culture in New York State. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., 1973, 225p.

Reiss, Alvin H. "Key Study Shows Public Receptive to Arts." In Alvin H. Reiss, Arts Management Handbook. New York: Law-Arts Publishers, 1974. pp. 122-126.

40 [Prieve, E. Arthur.] Questionnaire for Wisconsin Union Theater Survey. Madison, Wisc.: [Center for Arts Administration, 1976], 5p.

Study of university theater audience to be completed in 1977.

41 Guthrie Theater. "Guthrie Theater 1974 Audience Survey" questionnaire. Minneapolis: Guthrie Theater, 1974, 2p.

Namakkal/Eringer Marketing, Inc. Report on composition of the audience of the Guthrie Theater for the 1974-75 season. Minneapolis: Namakkal/Eringer Marketing, Inc., n.d., 33p.

See also #'s 104, 117, 122, 126, 199

42 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. Californians and the Arts: A Survey of Public Attitudes Toward and Participation in the Arts and Culture in the State of California. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., 1975 (?), 230p.

National Research Center of the Arts. Californians and the Arts: Summary Report. Sacramento: California Arts Commission, 1975, 13p.

43 Richardson, Raymond J. and John F. Maxwell. "Lake Placid Center for Music, Drama and Art: Its Economic Impact; A Study for the New York State Council on the Arts." Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Technical Assistance Center, Dec. 1973, 30p.

Report of resident and tourist survey.

44 Arts Development Services, Inc. ADS Market Study 1975: A Summary Report. Buffalo: Arts Development Services, Inc., [1975], 16p.

[Gottstein, James F.] Potential Markets for the Arts in Western New York. Buffalo: Arts Development Services, Inc., [1975], 72p.

Mail survey of Buffalo area.

45 J. R. Taft Corporation. An Evaluation of the Impact and Effectiveness of Affiliate Artists, Inc. Washington, D.C.: J. R. Taft Corporation, Comlab, Inc., Oct. 1971, 61p.

Evaluation of school arts program.

46 Nash, George. "Art Museums as Perceived by the Public," Curator 18(1): 55-67 (1975).

_____. Art Museums as Perceived by the Public. New York: New York State Council on the Arts, 1974, 31p.

See also #'s 238, 239

Survey of individuals in downtown Manhattan and Rochester, visitors to the Whitney Museum of Art, and study of outreach programs of the Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Rochester.

47 Screven, C. G. "The Application of Programed Learning and Teaching Systems Procedures for Instruction in a Museum Environment." In Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 167-174.

_____. The Application of Programmed Learning and Teaching Systems Procedures for Instruction in a Museum Environment: Final Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research (ED 048 745), Dec. 1967, 96p.

_____. The Measurement and Facilitation of Learning in the Museum Environment: An Experimental Analysis. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974, 91p.

See also #'s 35, 106-109

Study of use of self-teaching machines at Milwaukee Public Museum.

48 Barter Theatre. "Audience Survey: Barter Theatre, 1975." Questionnaire with results. Abingdon, Va.: Barter Theatre, 1975. 2p.

49 Metropolitan Opera. "Met Sampler—Survey Findings." New York: Metropolitan Opera, 1976, 5p.

See also #'s 50, 51

Telephone survey of participants in special Sampler program.

50 Metropolitan Opera. Introduction to the Met in the Parks Survey. New York: Metropolitan Opera, n.d., 40p.

See also #'s 49, 51

Interviews with attenders of outdoor concert programs; includes tables and graphs of responses.

51 [Veitch, Patrick.] "Cancelled Subscribers--Survey Findings." New York: Metropolitan Opera, [1976], 5p.

See also #'s 49, 50

Mail survey by Metropolitan Opera's Marketing Department.

52 [Rothman, Steve.] "Stage/West Audience Survey - 1975: Survey Questions and Sample Response; Schedule C." Springfield, Mass.: Stage/West, 1975, 3p.

53 New Hampshire Music Festival. "1975 New Hampshire Music Festival Audience Questionnaire." Tally sheet and copy of survey. Center Harbor, N.H.: New Hampshire Music Festival, 1975, 1p.

54 CONFIDENTIAL

55 Homans, Richard. "Saint Louis Symphony Orchestra Survey." St. Louis: University of Missouri, Marketing Department, June 1976, 7p.

Telephone survey of subscribers and their non-subscribing neighbors.

56 [Carver, James.] "Results of the Questionnaire." Copy of questionnaire and tally sheets. Kalamazoo: Kalamazoo Civic Players, n.d., 4p.

57 Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association. "Survey for the Institute of Outdoor Drama: King John, Aug. 27, 1969," and "Survey for the Institute of Outdoor Drama: King John, August 31, 1969." Ashland, Oregon: Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association, 1969, 12p. (Tabulation sheets only.)

See also #'s 208-221

58 Holth, Henry. Memorandum to Members of the Executive Committee, dated July 1, 1976. Attachments: "Houston Ballet Audience Questionnaire" with tabulations and "Some Notes on the Audience Survey Results." Houston: Houston Ballet, 1976, 6p.

See also #59

59 Houston Ballet. "Houston Ballet Telephone Survey." Questionnaire with tabulations. Houston: Houston Ballet, 1974, 3p.

See also #58

60 Brookgreen Gardens. "Brookgreen Gardens: 1970 Survey." Brief report on results. Murrells Inlet, S.C.: Brookgreen Gardens, [1970], 4p.

See also #61

61 Brookgreen Gardens. "Brookgreen Gardens: 1973 Survey." Brief report on results. Murrells Inlet, S.C.: Brookgreen Gardens, [1972], 3p.

See also #60

62 Becker Research Corporation. Attitudes of the Boston Public Toward "Summerthing." Boston: Becker Research Corporation, Oct. 1970, 50p.

Telephone survey sampling Boston residents.

63 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. A Study of Washingtonians' Attendance at Performing Arts Events and Museums. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., 1976, 119p.

For Washington State Arts Commission.

64 Beldo, Les. A Report of Three Surveys: A State-Wide Survey Conducted by The Minnesota Poll, Minneapolis Star and Tribune; An In-Concert Survey and A Personal Interview Survey Both Conducted by Mid-Continent Surveys, Minneapolis, Minnesota. [Minneapolis]: Campbell-Mithun, Inc., Mar. 12, 1956, 89p.

See also #65

For Minnesota Symphony Orchestra Association.

65 Earl Craig Associates, Inc. The Constituencies (Actual and Potential) of the Minnesota Orchestra: A Report to the Minnesota Orchestral Association. n.p.: Earl Craig Associates, Inc., 1975, 43p.

See also #64

Audience, community leader and social institution representatives were interviewed.

66 Geltner, Frank J. and Tim Wason. Articulture and the Eugene-Springfield Area: Surveys of Public Opinion and Arts Organizations. Report. [Salem, Oregon]: Oregon Arts Commission, Sept. 1, 1976, 50p.

Oregon Arts Commission. "Summary of Results: 1976 Eugene-Springfield Arts Impact Study" and summary of data tabulations. Salem, Oregon: Oregon Arts Commission, 1976, 5p. + 3p.

Telephone interviews.

67 Phoenix Symphony. "Phoenix Symphony 1971 Questionnaire" with tabulations and summary sheet. Phoenix: Phoenix Symphony, [1972], 5p.

68 Free Public Theatre Foundation. Questionnaires with response tabulations for Romeo and Juliet, Aug. 18-31, 1975 and Shakespeare and His People, Aug. 25-31, 1975. Los Angeles: Free Public Theatre Foundation, 1975, 2p.

69 Music Theatre of Wichita. "Entertainment Survey" questionnaire, "Entertainment Survey Results," and "Telephone Survey Results." Wichita: Music Theatre of Wichita, [1973], 3p.

70 American Ballet Theatre. "American Ballet Theatre Audience Survey" questionnaire and questionnaire with data tabulations. New York: American Ballet Theatre, n.d., 4p. + 6p.

71 [Weissenberg, Peter, Mary Frances Gordon and Joseph A. Yacura.] Report on audience characteristics for the performing arts in Binghamton, New York. [Endicott, N.Y.: Joseph A. Yacura, 1976], 32p.

See also #10

72 Mittler, Elliott and Walter Wallner. A Membership Study of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, June 1967. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1967, 35p.

Report of telephone survey of members and survey of membership practices of 27 other U.S. museums.

73 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. The New York Cultural Consumer. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., May 1974, 264p.

National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. The New York Cultural Consumer. New York: New York Foundation for the Arts, 1976, 264p.

National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. Questionnaire for study The New York Cultural Consumer. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., n.d., 8p. [Sent by Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, N.Y.]

Statewide survey of audience for performing arts and museums.

74 Cober, Rodney L. A Psychographic Life Style Analysis of Intergenerational Continuity in the Development of the Rural Theatre Audience. Thesis, Business Administration. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, Graduate School, Department of Marketing, May 1977, 220p.

See also #'s 22, 150

75 Becker Research Corporation. The Boston Symphony Orchestra: An Appraisal by Subscribers, Former Subscribers, and Potential Subscribers. Boston: Becker Research Corporation, June 1972, 53p.

76 Arts Development Associates, Inc. A Report on Dialogue on the Arts: A Public Planning Project of the Nebraska Arts Council. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Aug. 1976, 73p.

Statewide dialogue program included citizen questionnaire distributed at meetings and printed in newspapers.

77 Gourd, William. Information Processing in the Theatre: Sex Differences in Response to 'The Homecoming' and 'Private Lives.' Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education (ED 098 622), Apr. 1974, 17p.

78 Baltimore Museum of Art. "Instructions to Survey Volunteers." Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1974, 2p.

79 Albany Institute of History and Art. "A Comprehensive Membership Survey by the Albany Institute of History and Art" questionnaire and "Results of a Comprehensive Membership Survey by the A.I.H.A." summary. Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, n.d. brochure + 5p.

80 Smithsonian Institution. Feasibility Study of an Aerospace Museum in the Western United States. Prepared for the Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration by the Smithsonian Institution, National Air and Space Museum. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972. pp. II, III, 160-237, 362-363.

Potential audience survey of public in area near Ames Research Center.

81 CONFIDENTIAL

82 Walker Art Center. Questionnaire. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, [1976], 1p.

In current use.

83 [Barton, Genevieve.] Questionnaire for Roberson Center for the Arts & Sciences audience survey. Binghamton, N.Y.: [Genevieve Barton, 1976], brochure.

Results in process of compilation.

84 Oklahoma Theater Center. "Results of Informal Survey of Audience Taken During Performances of U.S.A. During January, 1976" and "The Oklahoma Theater Center Audience Profile 1976" questionnaire with tabulations. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Theater Center, 1976, 2p. + 4p.

85 Garden Theatre Festival. "Analysis and Evaluation of the Autumn Garden Theatre Festival 73 (project #four)." Los Angeles: Garden Theatre Festival, n.d., 13p.

See also #174

86 Theatre Tulsa. Membership questionnaire. Tulsa: Theatre Tulsa, Mar. 29, 1976, 4p.

87 Huntington Library. "Impressions of the Visitors." Includes data tables. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, June-July 1972, 5p.

See also #88

88 Huntington Library. "A Survey of Visitors." Brief report and data tables. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1973, 3p.

See also #87

89 CONFIDENTIAL

90 Denver Symphony Orchestra. "Denver Symphony Questionnaire - January, 1972: Results - June, 1972." Denver: Denver Symphony Orchestra, 1972, 8p.

91 Arts Development Associates, Inc. 20 "Flagship" Communities of New York State: A Report on Research Conducted on Needs, Potential Sponsors, and Facilities for a Possible Touring Program by the New York State Council on the Arts. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., May 1974, 55p.

See also #92

92 Foster-Pegg, F. Peregrine and Joseph Wesley Zeigler. The 1975 New York State Medallion Tour: A Report on the Background and Findings of the New York State Council on the Arts Demonstration Tour of Theatre. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., June 1975, 75p.

See also #91

93 National Research Center of the Arts. Anchorage, Alaska: Public Perspective on the Arts and Culture; Report of a Survey Conducted for Anchorage Arts Council. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Jan. 1975, 221p.

94 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. The Joffrey Ballet Audience: A Survey of the Spring 1976 Season at the City Center Theater. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., June 1976, 133p.

See also #138

95 Taylor, James B. et al. Science on Display: A Study of the United States Science Exhibit, Seattle World's Fair, 1962. Seattle: Institute for Sociological Research, Mar. 1963, 184p.

Interviews of visitors.

96 Milton, Paula Mae. Florida State University; A Descriptive Study of Audience Attitudes: A Survey of Selected Audiences in Professional, Educational and Community Theatres in Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach Counties in the State of Florida. Dissertation, Florida State University, Aug. 1967, 73p.

97 Molette, Carlton W., II. Concepts About Theatre: A Survey of Some College Students in the Florida Counties of Broward, Dade, and Palm Beach Comparing Those Who Have Had a Theatre and Drama Appreciation Course With Those Who Have Not. Dissertation, Florida State University, Aug. 1968, 115p.

98 Romano, Albert. October 1971 In-Theatre Survey. New York: Metromedia, Inc., 1971, 103p.

See also #37

Playbill questionnaire survey of audiences of sixteen shows in New York City.

99 Cherry, Kathleen Ann, Patricia Ann Mitchell, and Bradley C. Morison. Bridges: A Report on an Exploration of the Possibilities in a Heritage and Cultural Bridge Concept for Fargo/Moorehead. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Oct. 1976, 138p.

Includes survey of performing-arts attenders.

100 Newgren, Donald A. A Standardized Museum Survey: A Methodology for Museums to Gather Decision-Oriented Information. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1972. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1973, 282p.

Includes surveys of museums in Syracuse and Grand Rapids.

101 Arkansas Arts Center. Arkansas Arts Center: Public Opinion Study, January 27, 1971, Project #PS 10-121 RP. Little Rock: Arkansas Arts Center, 1971. 53p.

Telephone survey.

102 Community Service Bureau, Inc. Report and Recommendations: Arkansas Arts Center, Little Rock, Arkansas. Dallas: Community Service Bureau, Sept. 1, 1971, 48p.

Leading citizen interviews.

103 McKee, David T. Profiles and Preferences: An Audience Survey of Subscribers, Occasional Patrons and the General Public for Regional Theatre in Seattle. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1972. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1972, 184p.

104 Morison, Bradley G. and Kay Fliehr. In Search of an Audience: How an Audience Was Found for the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre. Includes survey questionnaire and report. New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1968, 230p.

See also #'s 41, 117, 122, 126, 199

105 Arts Development Associates, Inc. An Evaluation Report on the Illinois Arts Council Bicentennial Theater Tour and a Comparative Analysis of Four Major Theater Tour Projects. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Sept. 15, 1976, 122p.

106 Niehoff, Arthur. "Audience Reaction in the Milwaukee Public Museum: The Winter Visitors." In Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 21-31.

See also #'s 35, 47, 107-109

107 Niehoff, Arthur. "Characteristics of Audience Reaction in the Milwaukee Public Museum." In Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 9-16.

See also #'s 35, 47, 106, 108, 109

108 Cooley, William and Terrence Piper. "Study of the West African Art Exhibit of the Milwaukee Public Museum and Its Visitors." In Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 143-165.

See also #'s 35, 47, 106, 107, 109

109 Abler, Thomas. "Traffic Pattern and Exhibit Design: A Study of Learning in the Museum." In Stephan F. deBorhegyi and Irene A. Hanson, eds., The Museum Visitor: Selected Essays and Surveys of Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968. pp. 103-141.

See also #'s 35, 47, 106-108

110 Krasnegor, Rebecca. Smithsonian Audience Survey: Summary of BSSR Pretest Experience and Recommendations for the Conduct of an Audience Survey. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Oct. 1967, 50p.

See also #'s 128, 264

Interviews of visitors to the National Museum of Natural History and the National Museum of History and Technology.

111 Colvin, Claire. A Membership Study of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the Asian Art Museum, July 1976. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1976, 94p.

See also #'s 192-195

112 Arts Development Associates, Inc. "...For a Town of Any Size!" A Plan for Developing and Enriching the Cultural Life of the Sioux City Area. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Aug. 1975, 155p.

Interviews with community leaders and audience survey questionnaire used at 29 different cultural events.

113 Arts Development Associates, Inc. A Report and Recommendations on the Quad Cities Cultural Survey. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., [May 1975], 99p.

Audience survey of 19 cultural events in Davenport, Iowa-Moline, Illinois area.

114 Zeigler, Joseph Wesley. A Report on the Marketability of a Center Stage Tour in the Middle Atlantic States. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, June 1974, 188p.

Zeigler, Joseph Wesley. Steering the Center Stage Study: A Report on Methodology. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Aug. 1974, 35p.

See also #'s 198, 202

Communities studied were Dover, Del.; Frederick, Rockville, and Salisbury, Md.; Long Branch and Vineland, N.J.; Allentown-Bethlehem, Hershey, and Scranton-Wilkes Barre-Hazelton, Pa.; Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Newport News-Hampton, Va.; and Clarksburg, W. Va.

115 Ford Foundation. The Finances of the Performing Arts. Volume I: A Survey of 166 Professional Nonprofit Resident Theaters, Operas, Symphonies, Ballets, and Modern Dance Companies. Volume II: A Survey of the Characteristics and Attitudes of Audiences for Theater, Opera, Symphony, and Ballet in 12 U.S. Cities. New York: Ford Foundation, 1974.

Reiss, Alvin H. "Lowry Discusses New Ford Foundation Survey." In Alvin H. Reiss, Arts Management Handbook. New York: Law-Arts Publishers, 1974. pp. 34-38.

116 American Conservatory Theatre. Report of 1976 audience survey. San Francisco: American Conservatory Theatre, 1976, 73p.

Subscriber survey.

117 Arts Development Associates, Inc. A Decade Later: A Report and Analysis of the Guthrie Theater Audience of 1973 and How It Compares With the First Season. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Apr. 1974, 57p.

Arts Development Associates, Inc. Ten Years Later: A Report and Analysis of the Guthrie Theater Audience of 1973 and How It Compares With the First Season. Draft I. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., Apr. 1974, 57p.

See also #'s 41, 104, 122, 126, 199

118 Zeigler, Joseph Wesley. The Artpark Audience: A Report on Research Done by Our Company in Season 1976. Includes materials from "Artpark - Evaluation II: 1976 Season, Nov. 9 & 10, 1976, Rensselaerville, New York" meeting. Minneapolis; Arts Development Associates, Inc., Oct. 1976, 54p. + meeting materials.

Audience at Artpark and public in western New York and Niagara Frontier were studied.

119 Nicol, Elizabeth H. The Development of Validated Museum Exhibits. Final Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research (Contract No. OECI-6-050245-1015), May 1969, 114p.

Children's Museum of Boston.

120 Morison/Fliehr Associates. Project Future: A Ten Year Plan for the Development of Audience, Funds and Facilities for the Trinity Square Repertory Company, Providence, Rhode Island. Minneapolis: Morison/Fliehr Associates, Mar. 19, 1968, 118p.

121 New York State Education Department and Janus Museums Consultants, Ltd. The 1966 Audience of the New York State Museum: An Evaluation of the Museum's Visitors Program. Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Division of Evaluation (U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, ED 044 621), Jan. 1968, 60p.

122 Guthrie Theater. "Interim Results: 1976 Guthrie Audience Survey." Minneapolis: Guthrie Theater, 1976, 5p.

See also #'s 41, 104, 117, 126, 199

123 Walker Research, Inc. Children's Museum Image Study. Prepared for the Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Indianapolis: Walker Research, Inc., 1975, 77p.

Telephone survey of adult residents of metropolitan Indianapolis.

124 Weiss, Robert S. and Serge Boutourline, Jr. "The Communication Value of Exhibits," Museum News, Nov. 1963, pp. 23-27.

See also #246

Observation of and interviews with visitors to the Boston Museum of Science.

125 Klinzing, Dennis. Determining Audience Profile and Effectiveness of Publicity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education (ED 083 649), Aug. 1973, 13p.

Two audience surveys done at the University of Delaware Theatre.

126 Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, Inc. Preliminary Report: An Analysis of Those Attending the Guthrie Theatre During 1962-1963. Minneapolis: Twin Cities Marketing & Research Dept., Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, Inc., 1963, 18p.

Reiss, Alvin H. "Survey Shows When Audiences for Different Arts Forms Overlap." In Alvin H. Reiss, Arts Management Handbook. New York: Law-Arts Publishers, 1974. pp. 133-135.

See also #'s 41, 104, 117, 122, 199

127 Stack, Christopher D. An Examination of Lawrence University Audiences. n.p., n.d., 30p.

128 Danquist, Gerald A. et al. A Marketing Study of the Smithsonian National Associates. Cambridge: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, Apr. 28, 1971, 109p.

See also #'s 110, 264

129 CONFIDENTIAL

130 Hopkins Center, Dartmouth College. Questionnaire and "Summer 1974 Statistics" compiled by Ellen Feldman. Hanover, N.H.: Hopkins Center, Dartmouth College, 1974. 2p. + 6p.

See also #151

131 Dowling, William D. Characteristics of Adult Education Participants, Green Bay, Wisconsin. Green Bay: Green Bay Center, University of Wisconsin, [Mar. 1962], 48p.

Green Bay Adult Education Council. "Adult Education Participant Study." Questionnaire. Green Bay: Green Bay Adult Education Council, n.d., 4p.

132 Actors Theatre of Louisville. "Actors Theatre of Louisville Audience Survey" questionnaire with subscriber and single ticket buyer response rates. Louisville, Ky.: Actors Theatre of Louisville, n.d., 2p.

133 Research and Educational Planning Center. Status of the Arts and Creative Activities in the State of Nevada: A Statewide Survey. Reno: Research and Educational Planning Center, College of Education, University of Nevada, [1976], 37p.

134 Long Wharf Theatre. Data tabulations of Long Wharf Theatre subscription audience survey. New Haven, Conn.: Long Wharf Theatre, [1976], 11p.

135 Leo Burnett U.S.A. The Art Institute Survey. Prepared for the Art Institute of Chicago. Chicago: Research Department, Leo Burnett U.S.A., Nov. 5, 1975, 62p.

See also #'s 11, 136, 179-182

Questionnaire survey conducted over one year for one week periods each season.

136 Leo Burnett U.S.A. The Art Institute General Visitor Survey and Focus Group Research. Prepared for the Board of Trustees of the Art Institute of Chicago. Chicago: Research Department, Leo Burnett U.S.A., Oct. 18, 1976, 17p.

See also #'s 11, 135, 179-182

137 National Research Center of the Arts. Americans and the Arts: A Survey of the Attitudes Toward and Participation in the Arts and Culture of the United States Public. New York: Associated Councils of the Arts, 1976, 166p.

See also #7

138 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. The Joffrey Ballet Audience on Tour. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., July 1976, 60p.

See also #94

Report of surveys done on tour audiences in San Antonio, Houston, and New Orleans.

139 Joint Committee on Cultural Resources. In Search of a Regional Policy for the Arts: Phase II. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research and Regional Planning Council, [1975?], 52p.

See also #202

140 Zeigler, Joseph Wesley. A Report on the Pittsburgh Audience for Theatre Yes. New York: Arts Development Associates, May 1975, 37p.

Leader interviews and mail questionnaire of Pittsburgh area residents.

141 Century Research Corporation. The Arts in Arlington: 1974 Survey of the Public. Prepared for the County Board, Arlington County. Arlington, Va.: Century Research Corporation, July 1974, 61p.

Interviews of county residents.

142 Arts Development Associates, Inc. Building an Audience for OPERA/OMAHA: A Report and Recommendations for the 1976-77 Season. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., June 1976, 24p.

Audience questionnaire used at two performances.

143 Shreveport Symphony. "Shreveport Symphony Audience Survey" questionnaire. Shreveport, La.: Shreveport Symphony, n.d., 1p.

144 Lucarelli, Anthony A. Memorandum to Dr. Albert S. Miles, re "Final Results: Student Perference Survey-March 1, 1974," dated Mar. 16, 1974. Tabulation sheets attached. Riverside, Calif.: Performing Arts Presentations, University of California, 1974, 3p.

Lucarelli, Anthony A. Questionnaire for proposed 1977 city resident survey. Riverside, Calif.: Performing Arts Presentations, University of California, [1976], 4p.

145 Zeigler, Joseph Wesley. "An Analysis of the Albany Symphony Orchestra Questionnaires - Spring, 1976." (Analysis, questionnaires, and data charts included.) New York: Arts Development Associates, Inc., 1976, 11p.

Comparison of audiences at symphony performances in Albany, Schenectady and Troy, New York, and general public on Albany League of Arts mailing list.

146 Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum. "Survey 1976." Results of Survey Aug. 6-23, 1976. [Nashville: Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum, 1976], 5p.

See also #'s 147, 148

147 Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum. "Survey." Results of survey Nov. 12-14, 1976. [Nashville: Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum, 1976], 6p.

See also #'s 146, 148

148 Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum. "Survey Comparison 1973-1975." [Nashville: Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum], n.d., 7p.

See also #'s 146, 147

149 [George Eastman House.] "Visitor Survey" questionnaire. [Rochester, N.Y.: Goerge Eastman House], n.d., 2p.

On-going survey of visitor residences.

150 Heitman, G. and W. E. Crocken. "Some Observations on Theatre Audience Composition, Preferences and Perceptions." Paper for California Management Review. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, n.d., 17p.

Heitman, George and W. E. Crocken. "Theatre Audience Composition, Preferences, and Perceptions," California Management Review, 19(2): 85-90 (Winter 1976).

See also #'s 22, 74

Audience surveys done at Pennsylvania State University (both the Festival Theatre and University Theatre) in 1973.

151 Hopkins Center. Questionnaire. Hanover, N.H.: Hopkins Center, Dartmouth College, June 1, 1976, 10p.

See also #130

Questionnaire for Dartmouth seniors.

152 [California Museum of Science & Industry.] "Patronage." Results of attendance survey. [Los Angeles: California Museum of Science & Industry], n.d., 1p.

See also #'s 251, 252

153 [Bureau of Government Affairs.] Results of survey for North Dakota Council on the Arts & Humanities. Grand Forks, N.D.: Bureau of Government Affairs, [1974], 3p.

154 Morison/Fliehr Associates. "Preliminary Report--1: Center Opera Company Audience Research." [Minneapolis]: Morison/Fliehr Associates, Dec. 30, 1968, 40p.

See also #155

Interview survey of Twin Cities' women judged representative of potential audience.

155 Colburn, D. "Center Opera Company: Summary of Attendance Review and Audience-Member Interviews." [Minneapolis]: Arts Development Associates, July 26, 1970, 12p.

See also #154

Telephone interviews.

156 Zeigler, Joseph. "The Future of Jazz at St. Peter's." Excerpts from Joseph Zeigler, "The Common: An Extraordinary Place." New York: Arts Development Associates, Apr. 23, 1976. pp. 1-4, 21-22.

157 Theatre Development Fund. "Survey of Times Square Theatre Centre." Includes "Comments on the Preliminary TKTS Survey" by William J. Baumol. New York: Theatre Development Fund, Sept. 1973, 20p.

See also #'s 158, 159

Surveyed patrons of day-of-performance half-price ticket program.

158 Baumol, William and Hilda Baumol. Last Minute Discounts on Unsold Tickets: A Study of TKTS. Report 1. New York: Theatre Development Fund, 1974, 53p.

Theatre Development Fund. "Figures from the Baumol's published survey...." In Theatre Development Fund, Theatre Development Fund: A Progress Report, 1974-75. New York: Theatre Development Fund, n.d. p. 15.

See also #'s 157, 159

159 Baumol, William. "Survey of Users of the Lower Manhattan Theatre Centre." New York: Theatre Development Fund, Feb. 1, 1975, 14p.

See also #'s 157, 158

160 CONFIDENTIAL

161 Bureau of Business Research, West Texas State University. An Awareness and Attitude Study to Determine Characteristics Leading to Attendance and Participation in Selected Fine Arts in Amarillo. Prepared for Fine Arts Council of the Amarillo Chamber of Commerce. Amarillo: Bureau of Business Research, West Texas State University, Feb., 1971, 37p.

162 Monmouth County Arts Council. "Audience Survey" questionnaire and "Results of Showcase II Questionnaires." Red Bank, N.J.: Monmouth County Arts Council, n.d., 5p.

163 Green Mountain Guild. Two questionnaires; one with tabulations. [White River Junction, Vt.]: Green Mountain Guild, n.d., 2p.

164 New Hampshire Performing Arts Center. "Audience Survey for the New Hampshire Performing Arts Center" questionnaire and letters from E. P. Jancewicz, Sept. 23, 1976, and Timothy G. Jones, Nov. 3, 1976, analyzing data. Manchester, N.H.: New Hampshire Performing Arts Center, 1976, 2p. + 1p. + 2p.

165 Rivas, Frank W. An Assessment of Attitudes Toward Music. Prepared for National Assessment of Educational Progress, a Project of the Education Commission of the States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Sept. 1974, 31p.

On-going national student survey designed to evaluate music education in the U.S.

166 Grossman, Carol. "Report on Feasibility of Music Voucher." New York: Theatre Development Fund, June 22, 1976, 11p.

Includes interviews with theater-voucher users.

167 Raymond, Thomas C., Stephen A Greyser, and Douglas Schwalbe. "St. John Terrell's Music Circus" and "St. John Terrell's Music Circus: Audience Research Study." In Thomas C. Raymond et al., Cases in Arts Administration. Cambridge: Institute of Arts Administration, July 1971. pp. 1-21, 1-28.

Lambertville, New Jersey, musical tent theatre, 1959.

168 Rankin, Senath. The Wilmington Area Artist Series: A Study of the 1974-75 Season. Washington C.H., Ohio: Senath Rankin, June 1977, 33p.

Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra.

169 Virginia Museum. "Members' Surveys," (questionnaire only) Virginia Museum Bulletin 33(9): 10-11 (May 1973).

See also #'s 170, 253

170 [Virginia Museum.] "Council Hostess Information Sheet on Visitors to Museum" questionnaire. [Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1975], 1p.

See also #'s 169, 253

171 Lob, Diana Friedel et al. Market Research Survey: How People Consume Chicago Theater at the Organic Theater, Second City Theater, and St. Nicholas Theater. Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, June 1, 1976, 120p.

See also #'s 172, 175-177

172 Alsberg, Eric et al. The Development of a Subscription Plan for the Organic Theater. Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, June 1976, 54p.

See also #'s 171, 175-177

Focus group interviews.

173 Connecticut Theatre Foundation. A Survey of Audience Opinion: Monday, 19 August Through Saturday, 24 August, 1974. Compiled by Rita Merlet Barrows. Westport, Conn.: Connecticut Theatre Foundation, Inc., 37p.

Report of audience survey at Westport Country Playhouse.

174 Chernack, Peter A. Report on the Garden Theatre Festival (4th Annual L.A. Performing Arts Festival), Barnsdall Park, July 2-25, 1976. Los Angeles: Garden Theatre Festival, Nov. 1976, 179p.

Garden Theatre Festival. Copies of completed survey forms. [Los Angeles: Garden Theatre Festival, 1976], 87p.

See also #85

175 Goonasekera, A. et al. "A Study of the Sources of Information of the Organic Theater Audience." Paper prepared for the Marketing Communication Program. Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, Spring 1976, 33p.

See also #'s 171, 172, 176, 177

176 Wasso, Louise et al. "Near North Side Film Audiences as a Market for the Organic Theatre." Paper prepared for Business 353, Advertising Management. [Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business], June 10, 1976, 27p.

See also #'s 171, 172, 175, 177

177 Edison, Marcia et al. "The Organic Theater Marketing Study." Paper prepared for Business 353. [Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business], Spring 1976, 33p.

See also #'s 171, 172, 175, 176

178 Davis, Harry L. The Chicago Symphony and Its Audience: A Summary Report. Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, Feb. 11, 1975, 79p.

179 Chilson, Barby et al. "I Think I Went....Backwards": A Marketing Research Project for the Art Institute of Chicago and Marketing 353. [Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, 1975], 15p.

See also #'s 11, 135, 136, 180-182

180 Chesterfield, Jim et al. Focus Group Interview Study of Members and Non-Members of the Art Institute of Chicago. [Chicago: University of Chicago, Marketing Class], 10 June 1975, 51p.

See also #'s 11, 135, 136, 179, 181, 182

181 Louer, Robert, Brian Copp, and Jay Rodrian. The Art Institute Membership: Profile, Attitudes, Tastes; Group VI - Report - The Mailed Survey. [Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, 1975], 24p.

See also #'s 11, 135, 136, 179, 180, 182

Art Institute of Chicago.

182 Art Institute of Chicago. "Preliminary Review of the Findings of the University of Chicago Marketing Class Survey of the Art Institute - June 1975." Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, July 25, 1975, 2p.

[Davis, Harry.] Art Institute Membership: General Profile; 4-Cluster Solution. [Chicago: University of Chicago], Dec. 15, 1975, 17p.

See also #'s 11, 135, 136, 179-181

Reports further analyses of data from studies #181 and #135.

183 Balling, Robert. "The Springfield Art Center: Its Relationship to Our Community." Springfield, Ohio: [Springfield Art Center], 1973, 9p.

Residence distribution of members and students.

184 Temple, Robert E. Excerpts from "Report to the Board, Oct. 18, 1976," profiles from 1976 season parking lot survey, and audience questionnaire. [Maryville, Tenn.]: Smoky Mountain Passion Play Association, 1976, 5p.

185 Story, Janet. "Questionnaire Summary, July-October, 1976," "Questionnaire Responses Mentioned More Than Once," and "Questionnaire." [Portsmouth, N.H.: Strawbery Banke, Inc., 1976], 5p.

186 Music Theatre of Wichita, Inc. Questionnaire with tabulations. Wichita: Music Theatre of Wichita, Inc., 1975, 3p.

Season ticket holders.

187 Gisler, John F. The People and the Arts. Prepared by the University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Business Research and Rocky Mountain Arts Research Group. Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Council for the Arts, Oct. 1976, 171p.

Interviews of Salt Lake area residents.

188 Sidney Hollander Associates. Geographic Origins of Attendance at the Baltimore Museum of Art, Mid-January Through Mid-June, 1971. Baltimore: Sidney Hollander Associates, 1971, 5p.

189 [Oklahoma Arts and Humanities Council.] "Section G: Organizations, Spare Time" questionnaire and computer print-out of tabulations. [Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Arts and Humanities Council, 1976], 26p.

190 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. The Arts in the Borough of Queens: A Survey of the Residents of the Borough of Queens and Their Views on and Participation in the Arts and Culture. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., June 1975, 194p.

191 [Andreasen, Alan R.] Questionnaires for in-progress survey of symphony and theater attendance. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1977, 37p.

Consumer demand for the arts in the South.

192 Cavala, John. "Media Enhancement of a Museum Gallery." [San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (M. H. de Young Museum)], n.d., 16p.

See also #'s 111, 193-195

Interviews of M. H. de Young Museum attenders.

193 McElroy, Guy and Cleveland Bellow. Museum audience survey, 1974-75. San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1975, 25p.

See also #'s 111, 192, 194, 195

194 M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. "Acoustiguide Survey Final Tally." (Questionnaires with tabulations.) San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, n.d., 9p.

See also #'s 111, 192, 193, 195

195 M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. "American Art: An Exhibition from the Collection of Mr. & Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd." Questionnaires with tabulations and summary. San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, n.d., 14p.

See also #'s 111, 192-194

196 Miller, William F. "Staying Away: Cost, Not Crime, Spoils Attraction of Night Life Here for Suburbanites," newsclip from The Cleveland Plain Dealer, [fall 1976?].

Playhouse Square Foundation. "Playhouse Square Free Theater Study." [Cleveland, Ohio: Playhouse Square Foundation], n.d., 3p.

Survey of audience for free theater.

197 "Fresno Philharmonic Audience Survey," American Symphony League Newsletter 13(2): 11 (Jan., Feb. 1962).

Questionnaires distributed to concert audiences.

198 Arts Development Associates, Inc. Excerpts on Center Stage from The 1973 Regional Tours of the Center Stage of Baltimore, MD and the Guthrie Theater of Minneapolis, MN: A Documentary Evaluation. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., July 31, 1973, 105p.

See also #'s 114, 202

199 Arts Development Associates, Inc. Excerpts on Guthrie Theater from The 1973 Regional Tours of the Center Stage of Baltimore, MD and the Guthrie Theater of Minneapolis, MN. Minneapolis: Arts Development Associates, Inc., July 31, 1973, 59p.

See also #'s 41, 104, 117, 122, 126

200 [Harbour, John E.] "Chapter VI: Summary." In John E. Harbour, "Who Are the Visitors? An Analysis of the Visitors to the Nassau County Museum." Thesis, Cooperstown Graduate Programs, State University College at Oneonta, N.Y., 1975. pp. 92-96.

See also #'s 2, 204

Survey of visitors to four museums of the Nassau County, Long Island, Museum.

201 National Research Center of the Arts, Inc. Winston-Salem/Forsyth County: Public Perspective on the Arts and Culture. New York: National Research Center of the Arts, Inc., July 1974, 189p.

Cross-sectional study of North Carolina county.

202 Cwi, David. "Center Stage" residence data from Phase II, Regional Planning Council-Johns Hopkins audience survey. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research, [1976?], 24p.

See also #'s 114, 139, 198

Part of larger study done for Regional Planning Council (#139).

203 American Museum of Natural History. A Profile of Consumer Use and Evaluation: The American Museum of Natural History; Based on a Survey of Attendance July 1974-July 1975. New York: American Museum of Natural History, Jan. 1977, 303p.

204 Culp, Marion et al. "Nassau County Historical Museum Visitation Survey 1967." Paper prepared for Social Science Research Technician Course, Hofstra University, Hempstead, N.Y., 1966-1967, 26p.

See also #'s 2, 200

205 Williams, Monte G. "Quincy Symphony Orchestra General Opinion Survey: Spring, 1976." Quincy, Ill.: Quincy Symphony Orchestra, 1976, 10p.

Report on questionnaire and interview study.

206 Cleveland Area Survey. "Cleveland Area Survey — 1977" questionnaire. Cleveland: Cleveland Area Survey, Case Western Reserve University, 1977, 47p.

207 Wadsworth Atheneum. Results of a visitors' survey at the Wadsworth Atheneum: Preliminary Report. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, Nov. 1976, 9p.

Wadsworth Atheneum. "Visitor Survey" and "Visitor Survey: Part II" questionnaires. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976, 6p.

208 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: The McIntosh Trail [Peachtree City, Ga.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 209-222

209 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Cross and Sword." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, Jan. 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208, 210-222

210 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: The Lost Colony [Manteo, N.C.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208, 209, 211-222

211 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Trails West." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-210, 212-222

212 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Stephen Foster [Bardstown, Ky.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-211, 213-222

213 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: From This Day Forward." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-212, 214-222

214 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Wilderness Road [Berea, Ky.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-213, 215-222

215 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Louisiana Cavalier [Natchitoches, La.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-214, 216-222

216 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: The Common Glory." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-215, 217-222

217 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Beyond the Sundown." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-216, 218-222

218 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Strike at the Wind [Pembroke, N.C.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-217, 219-222

219 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: The Sword of Peace." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-218, 220-222

220 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Conquistador [Hot Springs National Park, Ark.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-219, 221, 222

221 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Trumpet in the Land [New Philadelphia, Oh.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 21, 57, 208-220, 222

222 Institute of Outdoor Drama. "National Audience Survey 1976: Texas [Canyon, Tex.]." Chapel Hill: Institute of Outdoor Drama, 1977, 4p.

See also #'s 57, 208-221, 223

223 Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc. "Texas" 1965-76 materials. Includes "Cumulative Statistics on 'Texas' Musical Drama, 1966-1976"; questionnaire forms used during 1966-1967, 1968-1970, 1972-1976, and 1976. Canyon, Tex.: Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc.

Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc. "Survey Reports: 'Texas' Musical Drama 1976," "Report on the Buses to Texas 1976," and data sheets on numbers of cars parked in 1976 season. Canyon, Tex.: Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc., 8p.

Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc. "Report of Audience Sruveys Taken in 1975." Canyon, Tex.: Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc., 1p.

Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc. "Texas" survey data for 1970. Canyon, Tex.: Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc., 1p.

Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc. "Audience Survey Taken Friday, August 8, 1969." Canyon, Tex.: Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc., 2p.

Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc. "'Texas' Statistics for 1968" and "Occupations Represented at the 'Texas' Show in Two Surveys Taken in 1968." Canyon, Tex.: Texas Panhandle Heritage Foundation, Inc., 3p.

See also #222

Materials listed above consist of brief narratives and tables of data.

224 Geer, Abigail. "A Study of the Role of the Art Museum as Collector or Educator." n.p., 1976, 78p.

See also #17

Study of visitor behavior at Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

225 Core, Lucy Ruggles. "Artists Information Bureau—Sculpture Quiz, May 1976." Report on survey results and copy of questionnaire. New Orleans: Artists Information Bureau, 1976, 8p. + 3p.

General opinion study of public "monumental sculpture."

226 Wedge, Eleanor F. Nefertiti Graffiti: Comments on an Exhibition. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1976, 161p.

Analysis of comments written by visitors to Egyptian art exhibit.

227 Conrad, Jack. Profile of the Playgoer: Study of a Theatre Audience. Memphis: Southwestern at Memphis, 1969, 137p.

Front Street Theatre, Memphis.

228 Shakespeare Festival of Dallas. "Shakespeare Festival of Dallas Audience Questionnaire" and "Shakespearean Festival of Dallas July, 1976 Questionnaire Results." Dallas: Shakespeare Festival of Dallas, 1976, 4p.

229 Screven, C.G. "The Effectiveness of Guidance Devices on Visitor Learning," Curator 18(3): 219-243 (1975).

Glass exhibit at Renwick Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

230 Metropolitan Museum of Art. "The Metropolitan Museum and Its Public: Highlights of the Yankelovich Survey." In Metropolitan Museum of Art, Annual Report 1973-1974. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974. pp. 15-19.

See also #'s 3, 250

231 Wagar, J. Alan, Gregory Lovelady, and Harlan Falkin. Evaluation Techniques for Interpretation: Study Results From an Exhibition on Energy. USDA Forest Service Research Paper PNW-211. Portland, Ore.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1976, 13p.

Pacific Science Center, Seattle.

232 Dick, Ronald E., Erik Myklestad, and J. Alan Wagar. Audience Attention as a Basis for Evaluating Interpretive Presentations. USDA Forest Service Research Paper PNW-198. Portland, Ore.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1975, 7p.

See also #'s 12, 233

Audio-visual presentations at various Pacific Northwest park visitor centers.

233 Wagar, J. Alan. Cassette Tapes for Interpretation. USDA Forest Service Research Paper PNW-207. Portland, Ore.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1975, 20p.

See also #'s 12, 232

Pacific Northwest park visitor study.

234 Borun, Minda. Measuring the Immeasurable: A Pilot Study of Museum Effectiveness. Washington, D.C.: Association of Science-Technology Centers, Apr. 1977, 114p.

See also #248

Study of visitors to the Franklin Institute Science Museum and Planetarium in Philadelphia.

235 Celender, Don. "Opinions of Working People Concerning the Arts." New York: O. K. Harris Gallery, 1975, 150p.

Survey of nonrandom set of Minneapolis residents.

236 Serrell, Beverly. "Survey of Visitor Attitude and Awareness at an Aquarium," Curator 20(1): 48-52 (March 1977).

See also #11

John G. Shedd Aquarium, Chicago.

237 Merrimack Valley Textile Museum. "Survey Questionnaire-Merrimack Valley Textile Museum." North Andover, Mass.: Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, [1967], 1p.

238 Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester. "Adult Workshop Questionnaire." Rochester, N.Y.: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, [1971], 2p.

See also #'s 46, 239

239 Clay, Langdon F. Student questionnaire. Rochester, N.Y.: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, n.d., 1p.

See also #'s 46, 238

240 Foster, Arnold and Thomas Juravich. "Art Activities in the Tri-Cities Area." Paper presented at the Conference on Community and Policy Research, Apr. 30, 1976, Albany, New York. Albany: State University of New York, 1976, 15p.

Cross-sectional survey of Albany area.

241 Exhibit Museum of the University of Michigan. Questionnaire. Ann Arbor: Exhibit Museum of the University of Michigan, [1956?], 2p.

242 Museum of Science and Industry. "Attendance Survey." Results. Chicago: Museum of Science and Industry, 1958, 38p.

See also #'s 11, 243

Geographical origin of visitors.

243 Museum of Science and Industry. "Six-Day Survey Shows Museum Visitors Come From All Over the World." In Museum of Science and Industry, Facts and Information. Chicago: Museum of Science and Industry, 1969, 13p.

See also #'s 11, 242

244 Detroit Institute of Arts. "Questionnaire." Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, n.d. (2 completed questionnaires)

See also #'s 245, 266-268

245 Detroit Institute of Arts. Questionnaire. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, n.d., 2p.

See also #'s 244, 266-268

246 Museum of Science. "Lilly Endowment Survey: 1958." Boston: Museum of Science, 1958, 13p.

See also #124

Visitor survey.

247 Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Questionnaire and results from "Painting in Italy in the 18th Century" and "Art Deco" exhibits. Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, [1971], 8p.

See also #6

248 American Institute for Research. "An Evaluation of the Educational Program of the Franklin Institute: A Summary Report." Pittsburgh: American Institute for Research, Jan. 1960, 4p.

See also #234

249 Garvin, Alfred D. An Evaluation of the Cincinnati Science Center. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, n.d., 49p.

Study of fifth graders.

250 Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Questionnaire Response Feb. 17, 1971" by Frank Simon, questionnaire, Jan. 1971, and "Results of Questionnaire: January 1971." New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971, 1p. + 1p. + 2p.

See also #'s 3, 230

251 California Museum of Science and Industry. "Questionnaire for Museum Visitors." Los Angeles: California Museum of Science and Industry, [1965-1968?], 12p.

See also #'s 152, 252

252 California Museum of Science and Industry. Questionnaire. Los Angeles: California Museum of Science and Industry, 1971, 1p.

See also #'s 152, 251

253 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Questionnaire and results of survey from Members' Bulletin, 1967. Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1967, 2p. + 1p.

See also #'s 169, 170

254 Colonial Williamsburg. "Visitor Analysis-Summer 1964: Post-Image." (Questionnaire with tabulated responses.) Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1964, 3p.

See also #'s 255-259

255 Colonial Williamsburg. Questionnaire. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Aug. 1968, 1p.

See also #'s 254, 256-259

256 Colonial Williamsburg. Questionnaire. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1968, 1p.

See also #'s 254, 255, 257-259

257 Colonial Williamsburg. Questionnaire. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1969, 1p.

See also #'s 254-256, 258, 259

258 Colonial Williamsburg. Questionnaire. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1970, 1p.

See also #'s 254-257, 259

259 Colonial Williamsburg. Questionnaire with tabulated responses. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1964, 3p.

See also #'s 254-258

260 Corning Glass Center. "Visitor Survey-Hall of Science and Industry" questionnaire. Corning, N.Y.: Corning Glass Center, 1971, 1p.

See also #'s 261-263

261 Hares, Doris. "Summary of the Teacher Evaluation of the Corning Glass Center Tour Program for the Year 1968-1969." Corning, N.Y.: Corning Glass Center, July 10, 1969, 12p.

See also #'s 260, 262, 263

262 Corning Glass Center. "The Glass Center Visitor." Corning, N.Y.: Corning Glass Center, n.d., 7p.

See also #'s 260, 261, 263

263 Wake, Robert B. Memorandum to J. P. Fox, Jr., re. "Results of Visitor Survey July 3, 4, and 5, 1971," dated July 6, 1971 and Memorandum to J. P. Fox, Jr., re. "Results of Visitor Survey July 6 and 7, 1971," dated July 8, 1971. Corning, N.Y.: Corning Glass Center, 1971, 5p. + 4p.

See also #'s 260-262

264 Wells, Carolyn H. Smithsonian Visitor. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1970, 93p.

See also #'s 110, 128

Report of year-long visitor survey at the National Museum of History and Technology and the National Museum of Natural History.

265 Schwartz, Steve. Results of survey of Oakland Museum visitors. Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1971, 19p.

266 Detroit Institute of Arts. "High School Survey-Spring, 1969" questionnaire with tabulated results and letter from Virginia R. Harriman to teachers. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1969, 2p. + 1p.

See also #'s 244, 245, 267, 268

267 Downs, Linda. Memorandum to Miss Virginia Harriman, re. "Results from Questionnaire Sent to Detroit Grade Schools Regarding the Interest in the Tour Program," dated Apr. 22, 1970. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1970, 3p.

See also #'s 244, 245, 266, 268

268 Detroit Institute of Arts. Questionnaire for teachers on "Ancient World" tour and "Art to the Schools Evaluation Form." Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, n.d., 1p. + 1p.

See also #'s 244, 245, 266, 267

269 [National Association of the Denver Museum of Natural History.] Report to the Board of Trustees, Denver Museum of Natural History on Survey of Visitors to the Denver Museum of Natural History, 1974. Introduction, Summary, and questionnaire form. [Denver: National Association of the Denver Museum of Natural History, 1974], pp. 1-2, 17-21.

270 Ewell, Maryo and Peter Ewell. "Planning for Grassroots Arts Development: A Research Study of Nine Communities in Transition," Arts in Society 12(1): 92-109 (1975).

Rural communities in Wisconsin.